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# Daily Report

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FBIS **DAILY REPORT**
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## Further on Turkmen CP Congress Proceedings

### Zagladin Speech

*PM291730 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Jan 86 pp 1, 3*

[Unattributed account of speech by V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, delivered 17 January at 23rd Turkmen Communist Party Congress]

[Text] Comrade delegates!

Your congress is taking place at a portentous time in a period when the whole CPSU is preparing for its 27th congress. This will be a routine congress. But it will undoubtedly occupy an outstanding place in the history of our party and of our country.

This congress will, after all, define the general direction of the work of our party and of our people in the long term. In essence the congress decisions, the new edition of the party Program, the changes to its Statutes, and the Directions of the country's economic and social development are, as it were, our travel warrant for journeying into the 21st century. What we are doing today lays the foundation of our life for many years and decades to come.

Comrades!

In such speeches it is customary first of all to speak about internal affairs and then to broach problems of international politics. However, I think today that it is expedient to violate this procedure. First of all because enhanced attention to international affairs has become an important feature of the activity of the Central Committee and of its general secretary since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum. This attention is, I would say, innovative. The activity of the Central Committee at this time is characterized by a desire to get the world situation moving from a standstill and to ensure real forward progression along the path toward the solution of the chief international problem — the problem of averting the danger of nuclear war which is threatening mankind.

Secondly, it is also expedient to turn first of all to issues of international life because just now, literally on the eve of your congress, our party launched bold, new, and — it can be said without exaggeration — ambitious intitiatives of a foreign policy nature. I mean the statement which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee delivered on 15 January. This statement expounds proposals whose implementation could — and not just in our opinion, but in the opinion of broad sections of the world's public — lead to a most radical turnaround in the course of world events.

The contents of the statement are known to you. The main feature is that our party proposes that all nuclear weapons and also chemical weapons be banned and eliminated even before the start of the new millennium — under strict international control, of course. It is clear that all this is possible only if space strike weapons are totally renounced. This is a fundamentally necessary prerequisite for progress in the matter of guaranteeing real security of the peoples.

These initiatives of ours are a direct practical embodiment of the guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum for the utmost activation of our foreign policy, and of the propositions of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program. In the world arena our country holds the initiative firmly in its hands.

There is no doubt that aggressive circles in Washington and other western capitals will do all they can to retard the implementation of our ideas. They will, however, find that very difficult. It will be difficult because the Soviet Union's proposals take most fully into account the interests and demands of all countries and peoples, and accord with the hopes of all mankind.

A struggle lies ahead. Our country and our party are ready for that struggle. The Communist Parties, revolutionary democrats, many social democratic parties, and realistically minded statesmen of many countries are now calling for that struggle. A broad and truly worldwide front of struggle for the implementation of the Soviet initiatives is being created.

And although this struggle will not be easy, and although a long road has yet to be traversed, the very fact that our new initiatives have been launched has already exerted a salutary influence on the international atmosphere. What we have dubbed "the spirit of Geneva" following M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with President Reagan, has now acquired a solid, reliable foundation. confidence in our policy is growing everywhere. On the other hand, the mendacious myth about a Soviet military threat — a myth which is being propagandized in order to justify the arms race and preparations for war — is gradually melting away like snow in spring.

An important place in our international work is occupied by efforts aimed at eliminating the armed conflicts which exist on earth. Our aim is to achieve a solution to these conflicts by peaceful means, through negotations. This also applies to the problems of your neighbor, Afghanistan, and to the Iran-Iraq war. We have already done a great deal in this direction and much more will be done in the immediate future [v blizhaysheye vremya].

We have already spoken of the fact that the implementation of our proposals will require earnest and vigorous foreign policy activity. This is undoubtedly so. But, comrades, I must also say something else: The outcome of this struggle depends very much on how we shall work here at home.

From textbooks we all know very well that foreign and domestic policy in any country are closely interconnected. But if one is to talk of the Soviet Union then this interconnection acquires, if you like, special significance. I shall clarify what I have said by some examples. In the early seventies imperialism was forced to make the move from cold war to detente. Why? Because the Soviet Union had managed, on the basis of its economic achievements, to acquire military-strategic parity with the United States. This caused many hotheads in Washington and in the West in general to come to their senses.

Then, in the mid-seventies the brief detente gave way to confrontation. Why did imperialism take this turn? There were various reasons but one of them was that economic difficulties in the socialist countries, including in the Soviet Union, were perceived in the West, and above all in the United States. And they thought: Now we can apply the "squeeze" and force the Communists to capitulate.

But at the end of 1985 the Americans suddenly decided on a meeting between President Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, and on the signing of a statement which contains exceptionally important proposals which are well known to you. Why then did the United States venture such a step as Geneva? Not least because they noticed that things were going better in the Soviet Union and that our development had begun to accelerate again.

All this, comrades, cogently confirms the correctness of Lenin's conclusion: **We exert our chief influence on the development of events in the world through our economic policy**.

Comrades!

We are saying that the 27th CPSU Congress will open up a new stage in the country's history. But in fact a start has already been made on this new stage. The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum has already designated qualitatively new targets for our development and has in essence outlined a new party strategy.

The point of departure for this strategy is the simple and bold idea that **We cannot proceed as before any longer!** The "moment of truth" has arrived. It is time to look truth in the face. It is essential to acknowledge realities. It is time to stop being afraid of calling a spade a spade, to say that what is good is good, what is bad is bad, without any allowances or excuses, to make the effort — the difficult effort — to force oneself to do this, and to start thinking and acting in a new and different way.

You are well aware of, and have spoken here frankly and trenchantly about, how much was neglected over the last decade and more, how many opportunities remained unutilized, and what dangerous inertia negative tendencies had begun to acquire in the sphere of the economy, in the social sphere, in cadre matters, and in public morality.

The party said: Stop! This must not and will not go on any more! A course was set toward a radical turning point and a **strategy for acceleration** was formulated.

This concept will find full expression at the party's 27th congress. This is no simple matter. After all, it is a question not simply of the fact that previously we operated at such and such a pace and that now the pace will be greater. No. It is a question of **qualitative** changes in the whole of the social organism. The party is outlining measures of a revolutionary nature. The kind of restructuring of all party, economic, soviet, ideological, and cultural work is envisaged which will make it possible **to utilize in far greater measure the potential of the socialist system**.

And for this, amid everything else, it is necessary to fully reinstate, and not just pay homage to, Leninist principles — the simple, lucid norms of our socialist ideal — and to take them as our guide always and in everything, at any post and in any matter, great or small. And this is already being done most enegetically, above all by the CPSU Central Committee itself.

So what new element has appeared in the activity of our party and of its leadership during the period since the April plenum? **First**, the Central Committee has purposefully embarked on tackling the most complex and acute problems which are now facing the country.

It is no secret that certain of these problems in the past were, as it were, shelved for later on. As can be seen from the report delivered by Comrade S.A. Niyazov, and from the debate, this altogether fallacious approach is also very familiar to you. There used to be a desire, as it were, to "close" one issue or another. But any issue, after all, can only be deemed closed when it has been resolved. Taking this into account, the Central Committee, without procrastination, has now set about the most complex, but at the same time most vital, problems concerning the elaboration of new principles for the activity of the economic mechanism, and also concerning the influence of this mechanism on the introduction into production of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the radical enhancement of product quality.

**Second**, in tackling these problems, the Central Committee is not proceeding along well trodden paths. It is adopting nonstandard and innovative solutions. An example of this is the creation of the agro-industrial complex and the creation of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes where science and production come together

**Third**, the party, while promptly tacking current problems, has begun to study long-term problems far more thoroughly. Moreover this work is proceeding on a strictly scientific basis with no hare-brained schemes or voluntarism.

**Fourth**, an important feature of the CPSU's activity since the April plenum is cadre policy.

The West is clamoring that we are having a purge. No, it is not a purge. But a replacement of cadres is indeed taking place on a wide scale for all to see. It is a question here not of any subjective sympathies or antipathies. New tasks, life itself, and the scale and novelty of plans and designs require this. Resoluteness and, in some places, toughness have acquired an urgency in this matter because over a protracted period, as M.S. Gorbachev has said, "the natural process of cadre replacement was violated." Tendencies appeared in cadre policy which were incompatible with Leninism. And this inflicted serious damage on the country, both economic and moral.

The capacity for independent, creative action in the assigned post, the working person's moral potential, a sharp increase in exactingness, and a considerable expansion of **trust** — those are the criteria for assessing and the principles of work with cadres nowadays.

New comrades — authoritative and vigorous — are already working in many spheres of our life and in many party organizations and state organs. This also applies to your party organization. Things have begun to go better everywhere. Most comrades are working intensively, enterprisingly, and with a great sense of responsibility.

The Central Committee proceeds from the premise that at the present stage of the resolute restructuring of social relations the selection of cadres is of exceptionally great importance. To use V.I. Lenin's expression, this can be said to be the crux of policy now.

The work of the Central Committee and its general secretary must serve as a reliable reference point for the activity of all party organizations and, of course, of the Turkmen Communist Party.

The beginning of last year, 1985, was difficult in our country, as we all know. But as a result of the energetic measures taken by the leadership of the party and the country, measures that were supported by the working people, it was possible to finish the year successfully on the whole. And this, of course, is the best possible gift to the 27th party congress.

Your republic's working people made their contribution to the achievements of last year and of the whole 11th 5-Year Plan. The achievements of the republic's working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia have been cogently discussed in the Central Committee report and in comrades' speeches. I would like to cordially congratulate you all, congress delegates and all Turkmenistan's Communists, on the early fulfillment of the 1985 pledges in terms of many important indicators. We hope that the heights that have been scaled do not remain a record of the past for you but become the starting point for climbing to new heights.

At the same time I would like to express total agreement with what Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov said: The republic's contribution to the country's development could have been greater. objectively and critically assessing what has been achieved and comparing it with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April and October (1985) plenums, it must be openly said: Not everything possible has yet been done and the results of work could have been higher.

I will not repeat what was said earlier; anyhow, you know your own problems better than I do.

Nonetheless, there are some points that have to be mentioned.

What is now, today, the most important thing for our whole country? Above all energy, the extraction and production of energy sources, especially oil and gas.

Oil and gas are one of your republic's main resources. However, can these really exceptionally valuable resources be said to have been used thriftily and proprietorially? No, they cannot. Oil extraction in the republic does not accord with the existing potential. There are miscalculations in questions of building up hydrocarbon reserves, the observance of technological discipline, the operation of deposits, and wellhead construction. As a result in the last 5-year plan you were unable to stabilize oil extraction and it continued to fall. The Mayskoye gas field, at which only 36 percent of available gas reserves were recovered, was put out of action for the same reason and exploitation of it ceased.

Now we are having to go far to the north, into the tundra and permafrost, in the quest for oil and to expend tremendous resources and efforts in the process. Yet here in your republic conditions are much better and the distance to consumers is shorter. Moreover, a great deal has already been done! So it is Turkmenistan's duty to redouble and treble efforts in developing oil and gas extraction and refining. Now it is planned to increase oil extraction. That is very good.

Of course, help from the Ministry of Geology, the relevant all-union ministries, and the energy complex is required here. But your own actions too must be immeasurably more energetic. Energy requires energy too!

Cotton is another of Turkmenistan's resources.

The report and speeches today have spoken in detail and with concern of the accumulated shortcomings and problems in cotton growing. These are already a serious brake on the further buildup of production of extremely valuable strains of this crop. I think that the republic's Communists will do everything necessary to ensure that our country is supplied with top-quality cotton not via imports but via its own production.

The party and the Soviet Government have done much to boost your republic's economy. A number of special resolutions have been adopted and considerable capital investments and material and technical resources have been allocated. However, the republic has not been able to fully realize all this.

In our view, this has happened because the republic's party organizations do not always focus their efforts on resolving the main tasks and achieving good end results characterizing the efficiency and quality of social production.

The task is now to ensure efficient and smooth work in the new year and throughout the 12th 5-Year Plan, which, as the new edition of the CPSU Program notes, is called upon to be a breakthrough — the 5-year plan of a sharp turn toward production intensification and of a transition to an economy with the greatest organization, efficiency, and quality.

The first and most important thing that must be done is to ensure the profound restructuring of your republic's economy by introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress into production in every possible way and to secure a considerable acceleration in the rate of development, bringing it as close as possible to the basic average all-union indicators.

A most important task in all sectors of the national economy is the improvement of labor productivity in every possible way. You now have considerable reserves in this sphere — fuller savings of materials, raw materials, electricity, financial resources, and manpower can be made, equipment can be fully loaded, and socialist discipline and order can be strengthened.

A peculiarity of your republic is the high growth in the size of the able-bodied population. And the paramount task is to ensure that effective use is made of it and that it is involved as much as possible in social production. And for this it is of course necessary to develop labor-intensive sectors above all at an accelerated pace, to move production units to the direct vicinity of people's places of residence, and to develop vocational training more widely, especially that of girls and women. Of course, appropriate social, consumer service, and cultural conditions must be created for them. However, to be frank, not enough attention has been paid to the development of this sphere in the republic.

The term "the human factor" now occupies a firm place in our party vocabulary. All our plans can be successfully fulfilled only if the activeness, the conscious activeness, of the working people increases sharply. This requires serious, all-around, and far more vigorous ideological education work. But this also necessitates ensuring better social, cultural, and everyday living conditions for people and providing proper material and moral encouragement and incentives to labor. The CPSU Central Committee attaches tremendous importance to all this. After all, ultimately all our work and all the party's activity are in the name of the good of man!

As a deputy representing your republic, I know that the situation with regard to housing construction both in the cities, especially small towns, and in the countryside is extremely unfavorable. In many cases water supplies to population centers are badly organized, and voters rightly complain about this. What does a lack of water supply mean? It means insanitary conditions and the creation of a breeding ground for disease.

It is clear from contacts with voters that cultural services for the population leave something to be desired. It is notable that schooling requires attention.

Many complaints are received regarding poor supplies to cities and villages, including supplies of everyday foodstuffs.

Of course, objective difficulties may and indeed do, exist in these spheres. However, the leadership, including at local level, cannot be said to have everywhere made really vigorous use of available reserves and local potential.

The example of many regions of the country whose natural conditions are by no means better than Turkmenia's attests that local party and soviet organs can and must act much more vigorously and get results — in construction, in food production, and in other questions. Sometimes what happens is that they wait for order to be imposed regarding a particular question on the statewide or republican scale. And in the meantime they do nothing on the spot. But this kind of approach is simply justification of your own inactivity.

I think that both the work of Turkmenistan's local party and soviet organs and the assistance to these organs from the Central Committee and the republican government can be more vigorous and much more effective.

A few days ago the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Urgent Problems of Accelerating the Development of the Material Base of the Country's Sociocultural Sphere." With a view to implementing this resolution a comprehensive program for the republic's social development must be elaborated. The material base of the sociocultural sphere in Turkmenia must match up to present demands and fully satisfy the people's growing requirements.

All this has been said here at the congress — both in the reports and in the debate. It is not my business to award marks to particular speeches. However, I cannot say that they were all right up to modern standards, up to the standard of our party approach. Nevertheless, all the comrades spoke specifically, relying on their own experience and analyzing their own problems in the light of the party's new policy. I think they spoke in this way not because the instruction has now gone out to speak in a new way. They spoke with profound motivation, competently, responsibly, and sometimes passionately.

This is good. It shows that Turkmenistan's Communists perceive the party's new policy as a long-awaited and vital necessity. And they did not merely express agreement with this policy but regarded the work entrusted to them as part of this policy. Many people have spoken here of their own personal (and their collectives') responsibility for the success of our party's line at the present stage.

Understanding of the fact that it is one thing to want to achieve success (although this too is very important) and quite another to learn to work in the way that is now required has also been voiced from this rostrum. Learning to work in the way that is now required means above all acting in accordance with Lenin's slogan: Words must not be at variance with deeds. And for this, in turn, it is necessary for words themselves to become deeds — that is, it is necessary to rid ourselves of empty talk, lavish praise, falsity, and the replacement of truths by half-truths. The word that is given must really be an honest word.

Criticism and self-criticism must be not merely for the sake of form or for the sake of making pointed remarks, not for the sake of making a show of boldness or demonstrating that the instructions regarding the development of criticism and self-criticism are being fulfilled, but for the sake of action — for the sake of rectifying, improving, climbing higher, or getting rid of those who are not vindicating the trust shown in them or are incapable of working in the new way.

To this end the party has placed alongside the words "criticism and self-criticism" the word "publicity" — a great weapon in the struggle against isolation from realities and isolation from the people, against attempts to resolve questions concerning the people in camera and to arrogate a monopoly of final decision on the truth [monopoliya na istinu v vysshey instantsii].

The restructuring of state and economic leadership that is taking place in the country is proceeding in such a way as to expand the rights and enhance the responsibility of local organs of power, state, soviet, and economic organizations, enterprises, labor collectives, and every working person while preserving the principle of centralization and following the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The strategy of acceleration opens up scope for talented, knowledgeable people who know how to do their work, are obsessive in achieving their goal, are hungry for work, and are really ideologically committed — people who, in Lenin's words, "will not say a word that goes against their conscience, will not be afraid to admit to any difficulties, ...and will not be afraid of any struggle in order to achieve the goal they have seriously set themselves" ("Better Fewer, But Better," vol 46, pp 391-392).

In this connection I will say a few more words about the "human factor." For Communists themselves, for you and me, the human factor is above all still more party-mindedness and dedication. It is purposefulness, energy, initiative, persistence, the imposition of order in everything, and order as a norm everywhere. And of course, it is a merciless struggle against bureaucracy, mismanagement and waste, nepotism, theft, abuses of official position, and any other outrages, against attempts to live beyond one's means and to pick the state's pocket, against bribery, speculation, drunkenness, hooliganism, and so on, and so forth. The party has begun a massive cleanup operation against all these vices. It is clear from the report and from the delegates' speeches that similar work has also been begun in Turkmenistan. We can all sense this, although it is too early for you, as it is for the whole party, to congratulate yourselves on the successes.

Utilizing the existing rich arsenal of forms and methods of political influence on the masses, it is necessary to ensure everywhere the unity of organizational, economic, and educational work and a comprehensive approach toward the resolution of the upcoming tasks. Every Communist and every working person must profoundly and wholeheartedly understand the importance of the strategic tasks set by the party and must make a personal contribution to enhancing production efficiency and further increasing the people's well-being. And for this it is important to increase the attention paid to literally every Soviet person and to show concern for improving his ideological and political standard, vocational skill, level of information, and cultural and technical standards.

Comrades!

TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA has published the 1986 socialist pledges of the republic's working people. It is clear from the report and the debate and the congress what a great role Turkmenistan's Communists played in formulating these pledges.

You have outlined high targets. In Russian we have a saying — I don't know whether you have a similar one in the Turkmen language: "Don't hurry to make promises, but when you do, stick to them." So stick to them, comrades! It is a matter of labor, communist honor to fulfill the high pledges that the republic's working people have adopted.

May the contribution of the Turkmen SSR and the Turkmen Communist Party to the common cause of the country's development steadily increase! Allow me to wish you great successes in your work, which is so important for our whole people, to wish you more joyful, successful days, and to wish all your sunny republic prosperity and progress!

**Central Committee Plenum**

*PM291809 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Jan 86 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Information report on Plenum of Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The 1st Plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee elected by the 23d Turkmen Communist Party Congress was held 18 January. The plenum examined organizational issues.

The plenum elected S.A. Niyazov first secretary and Bureau member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. A.I. Rachkov was elected second secretary and Bureau member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. M. Mollayeva, K. Sakhatmuradov, and V.F. Zhulenev were elected secretaries and bureau members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum elected B. Yazkuliyev, A. Khodzhamuradov, G.S. Mishchenko, N.V. Makarkin, A.S. Boyko, Yu.K. Mogilevets, V.I. Shlyakhtin, and V.A. Kharkov members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Kh. Akhmedov, O.I. Ishankuliyeva, and Ya.P. Gundogdyyev were elected candidate members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum confirmed the following as chiefs of Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Departments:

V.A. Kharkov — Party Organizational Work Department;

R. Karayev — Propaganda and Agitation Department;

L.A. Kruglyakov — Agriculture and Food Industry Department;

I. Bekiyev — Administrative Organs Department;

Ye. Obyakuliyev — Science and Education Institutions Department;

T.K. Amangeldyyeva — Culture Department;

Ye.A. Bozhenov — Industry Department;

G.S. Yezhov — Transport and Communications Department;

V.S. Grishchenko — Petroleum, Gas, and Chemical Industry Department;

G. Berdyyev — Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department;

A.I. Kabashov — Construction and Municipal Services Department;

T. Chorekliyev — Water Resources and Rural Construction Department;

Yu.L. Kireyev — Trade and Consumer Services Department;

A.O. Bayramov — Economic Department;

V.F. Belonozhkina — General Department:

Ya. Berdyyev was confirmed as chairman of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Party Commission and A.N. Zhadan as administrator of affairs.

The plenum confirmed B.Sh. Kerimi as editor of the newspaper *SOVET TURKMENISTANY*, Ye.N. Kurylev as editor of the newspaper *TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*, and Kh. Durdyyev as chief editor of the journal *TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI*.

The Plenum confirmed the permanent commissions of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Yu.A. Tomak, senior official in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

## PRAVDA Reports Tajik CP Congress Proceedings

*PM291139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 86*
*First Edition p 2*

[Special Correspondents V. Grishin and O. Latifi report under the general heading "At the Union Republic Communist Party Congresses": "Tajikistan: Answer in Full"]

[Text] Dushanbe — In the report delivered at the Tajik Communist Party Congress by K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, and in the debates it was noted that over 130 major industrial enterprises, shops, and other facilities have been commissioned in the past 5 years. The material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex has been strengthened, consumer goods production has increased, and the services sphere has expanded.

However, the novelty and scale of the tasks being resolved now place increased demands on the standard of party leadership of the economy. An analysis from this viewpoint of the work that has been done has revealed grave shortcomings in the activity of party committees and of the Central Committee Bureau and sections. The 5-year target for the production growth rate in industry has not been fulfilled. Nor can the situation in agriculture be considered satisfactory, particularly if examined in the light of population growth.

SH. Abdugafarova, chairman of the Katagan village soviet, A. Gurezov, leader of a team of construction workers at the "Nurekgesstroy" project, and others spoke about problems in and ways of increasing labor productivity. It has been at the same level for years in a number of sectors and in agriculture has even fallen. It may be said that questions of increasing it are still on the agenda of Central Committee plenums and sessions and republic aktiv meetings. But the decisions adopted have by no means always been backed up by purposeful, persistent organizational work, and the verification of performance has been poor. In this context the congress rightly rebuked T. Mirkhalikov, Secretary of the Central Committee, and G. Koshlakov, first deputy chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers.

The materials-intensiveness of goods in increasing, making output more expensive. Many enterprises are failing to meet targets for reducing prime cost or to meet contract commitments for deliveries. The achievements of scientific and technical progress are being introduced too slowly. The active organizational role of the republic's quality commission, created under the jurisdiction of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, has not been apparent in the campaign for high-quality produce.

The republic Communist Party's last congress, speaking about feed production, set the task of producing 12-15 metric tons of feed units per hectare of irrigated pastureland. This time the figure mentioned was 5 metric tons. Then the talk was of a breakthrough just beginning in transition to the machine method of harvesting cotton, including fine-fibered strains. This time there was no mention of that. Indeed, what talk of a breakthrough can there be if manual labor is still being extensively used in the cotton fields.

The Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry and Water Resources and Rural Construction Departments and A. Maksumov, chairman of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee, have still not fully overcome the inertia of the old views and have not reorganized their work in the spirit of the new requirements. instead of dealing with vital matters they have been devoting themselves to compiling large numbers of summaries and reports and issuing all kinds of instructions. And Central Committee Secretary Kh. Nasredinov, who carries out general supervision of the sector, does not examine situations in depth and often tolerates a superficial approach to problems of the agro-industrial complex.

During the period covered by the report, capital construction questions were discussed twice at Central Committee plenums. It was said from the congress rostrum that the measures outlined have still not produced the desired results. Plans for the commissioning of fixed capital and the construction of housing, schools, preschool institutions, and cultural and consumer facilities were not fulfilled. Each year over one-half of the construction and installation organizations fail to meet contract work targets.

The congress held a businesslike discussion of ideological-educational work problems, too. Speakers noted that its forms and methods have improved somewhat since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum, Communists have begun studying Marxist-Leninist theory in greater depth, and their political activeness has increased. Quite a few instructive examples were cited of labor collectives' fruitful work with people, above all with young people. For example, in the "Tadzhiktekstilmash" plant's Komsomol-youth team of repairmen headed by congress delegate N. Novichkov everyone knows more than trade. The team has been working on single job schedules for 10 years now, servicing 18 very complex machine tools. The 11th 5-Year Plan target was fulfilled back in October 1984, and the team is now working on the October 1987 target. High consciousness, discipline, cohesion, and a businesslike, creative atti-

tude are the distinguishing features of many Komdomol-youth collectives wokring on the construction of the Ragunskaya and Nurekskaya GESes, in the agro-industrial complex, and at other enterprises.

However, the considerable shortcomings existing in work with young people cannot be overlooked. Speakers cited instances of healthy young people having no job or behaving in an unseemly fashion in public places and spoke about errors in the education of young students.

"The campaign for a sober way of life that has been launched successfully in the country is indissolubly linked with the need for the rational organization of people's leisure," R. Khodzhiyev, first secretary of Leninabad Party Obkom, noted. "It requires a fundamental breakthrough in the work of cultural and educational institutions. However, no significant changes have been observed here. Ideological section chiefs and even Central Committee Secretary G. Bobosadykova, who is directly responsible for this area, still prefer old, outmoded methods."

Justified criticism was also leveled at a number of other leading workers. The republic has just four oblasts, but Central Committee secretaries pay only fleeting visits to them: They arrive in the morning and fly back home the same evening. What about training, generalization of experience, and meetings and heart-to-heart talks with people in an unhurried atmosphere?

We shall cite another two extracts from delegates' speeches about omissions in the work style and methods of the republic Communist Party Central Committee apparatus.

A. Kasimov, first secretary of the Kurgan-Tyube Party Obkom, said: "Monitoring and the verification of performance remain weak points. Clearly the need is to adopt fewer resolutions and do more organizational work."

A. Khalimov, first secretary of Dushanbe Party Gorkom, said: "We talk long and often about the need for principle. But, believe me, it is not easy to be principled, particularly on cadre questions, when you are being pressured by higher-ranking leaders." It is just a pity that the speaker lacked the courage to name those "higher-ranking" protectors from the congress platform.

In the past 4 years 37 leading workers have been relieved of their posts for serious errors. For example, the following have been dismissed: Z. Siyarov, first secretary of Kuybyshevskiy Party Raykom; Ch. Zununov, first secretary of Proletarskiy Party Raykom; Z. Abdullozade, first secretary of Zafarobodskiy Party Raykom; and R. Khakimova, chairman of Kurgan-Tyube Gorispolkom. The congress held an incisive and impartial discussion of instances of mismanagement, embezzlement, and distortion of data.

These and other grave shortcomings resulted from the fact that the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and above all former Central Committee Secretaries R. Nabiyev and Yu. Belov, failed to create an atmosphere of frankness, collective management, exactingness, and principledness. The Bureau tolerated irresponsibility in a number of leading workers, failed to make specific demands on executives, and did not always give a strict party assessment of different abuses, violations of the norms of party ethics and morality, and even breaches of the law. Such an approach had a corrupting influence on cadres. All this failed to receive prompt and proper assessment from members of the republic Communist Party Central Committee either.

Great attention was paid to discussion of the precongress documents — the drafts new edition of the CPSU Program and draft changes to the party Statutes as well as the draft Basic Guidelines for the country's economic and social development.

L.F. Bobykin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department, took part in the congress' work.

### Ukrainian CP Auditing Commission Holds Session

*AU291048 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Jan 86 p 1*

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission was held on 24 January 1986.

The session examined and approved a report by the Auditing Commission to the 27th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

### Registration of Uzbek CP Congress Delegates Noted

*GF290553 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 29 Jan 86*

[Text] The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee informs the delegates of the 21st Uzbek Communist Party Congress that the congress will begin in the Palace of Arts at 1000 [0400 GMT] on 30 January 1986.

The delegates of the conference will be registered in the meeting hall of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee from 1000 to 1900 today.

**Yeltsin Moscow Conference Speech Reported**
*PM281505 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 86*
*First Edition pp 1-2*

[A. Zolin, Yu. Makhrin report: "Justifying the Lofty Trust: The 26th Moscow City Party Conference Has Opened"]

[Text] Moscow. The House of Unions' Hall of Columns —The 26th Moscow City Party Conference opened here 24 January. Gathered in this historic building are 1,015 delegates. They, the representatives of the capital's detachment of more than a million Communists, are charged with discussing the gorkom report and the CPSU's precongress documents.

It is 1000 hours. On the presidium are Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, V.V. Grishin, A.A. Gromyko, Ye.K. Ligachev, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Ponomarev, S.L. Sokolov, N.V. Talyzin, B.N. Yeltsin, L.N. Zyakov, M.V. Zimyanin, I.V. Kapitinov, and V.P. Nikonov.

Here too are representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, veterans of labor and of the Great Patriotic War, workers, personalities in science and culture, and military leaders.

B.N. Yeltsin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow Party Gorkom, takes the floor to deliver the accountability report.

Muscovites, the speaker noted, fully approve the party's program policy and the Central Committee's innovative approach to the complex problems of Soviet society's development and the ways of resolving them. The working people support the line of resolutely eradicating everything that has outlived its usefulness and is hampering more rapid progress and the party's call to make the transition from words and appeals to action in all economic activity and public life.

The plans for Moscow's economic and social development for 1984 and 1985 and for the 5-year plan as a whole were fulfilled in a number of indicators. Positive experience of party leadership of the economy has been accumulated in Krasnogvardeyskiy, Petrovskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, and certain other rayons, as well as many enterprise party committees.

What, for instance, is the secret of the good work by industrial enterprises in Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon, where the party organization is headed by F. Kozyrev-Dal? The party raykom is highly exacting toward leadership cadres and constantly attentive toward the cultivation in them of a party approach to the resolution of economic issues. Purposeful work with plant and factory specialists enabled the rayon to be among the first in Moscow to introduce an output quality control system. A university of quality, a scientific methodology center, and sections of the technical and economic council operate fruitfully.

As a result of the 5-year plan years the proportion of output produfed with the state Seal of Quality has more than doubled. The rayon's industry fulfilled the 5-year plan targets for increasing production volumes as early as July of last year, while reducing the size of the workforce by nearly 4 percent.

However, the conference mainly discussed what has not been done, what has been omitted, and what errors and shortcomings there have been. This was discussed with bolshevik honesty and frankness. The party gorkom and its bureau and secretariat have not succeeded in carrying out the necessary psychological restructuring among economic cadres. The party gorkom sections do not have a sufficiently profound knowledge of the state of affairs in the sectors, at enterprises, and in organizations, and are weak in their monitoring of the fulfillment of the bureau's resolutions. That is why a number of important tasks were not resolved in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

Concern was aroused among conference participants by the fact that the work style and methods of many party raykoms, primary party organizations, and economic cadres do not display changes in the light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum. The right words, fine words, are spoken, but matters are often conducted in the old way — according to the stereotype, indifferently.

An atmosphere of ostentatiousness, exaggerating success, and keeping quiet about shortcomings has grown up in the work style and has led to complacency and inertia. There has not been an objective assessment of many processes, which were not noticed in good time and whose urgency was concealed. Unresolved problems kept accumulating.

Many long-drawn-out processes proved to be deep-seated. Discipline was falling, bureaucracy was making its presence felt, and all this was compensated for by distorted reporting — that is, show.

The disease proved so chronic that even the paths toward innovation, toward restructuring, indicated by the party Central Committee were largely received only formally, and even those shortcomings which were exposed were not eliminated sufficiently actively, with proper determination and attack.

The following facts were cited from the conference platform. In the period under review, party raykoms and party committees and bureaus did not always take a principled and exacting stance on questions of the efficient utilization of production capacities.

The constant fall in return on capital was spoken of with alarm. In industry, it has fallen by 18 percent in 5 years.

The modernization of many plants and factories is taking place slowly and not comprehensively. The No 1 State Bearings Plant has been in the process of modernization for more than 10 years. In that time more than R190 million has been spent, but there has been no increase in production volumes or labor productivity. The modernization and retooling of light industry enterprises must become a subject of special party concern.

There was a keen discussion of the need to achieve a decisive improvement in output quality, of the struggle against extravagance and waste, and of the improvement of the utilization of material and manpower resources.

In the conditions of economic restructuring, particular significance is attached to the question of strengthening order and

discipline. The Muscovites were the initiators of the movement "Honor and glory for labor!" But this motto has generally remained a slogan, words on a banner. Losses of work time have increased. In 1984-85 they totaled some 2 million man-days in the city's industry. No integrated system has been established in the work of the party gorkom and raykoms and party committees to reduce losses, absenteeism, absence from work with the permission of the administration, lateness, idle time, and cadre turnover.

There was an animated discussion at the conference of the need to increase the efficiency of utilization of labor resources. In 1985 the Moscow City Planning Commission received requests from enterprises and organizations for 60,000 workers from out of town, who are known as "quota workers" ["limitchiki"]. At the same time more than 200,000 members of the potential work force in Moscow do not work at all, yet society feeds them. And they have a detrimental effect on the social order.

The front line of the struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress runs through science, as is known. In the last 2 years scientific research, design, planning, and technological organizations in the city have introduced some 20,000 developments into the national economy. Moscow's scientific institutions are successfully resolving the fundamental problems of energy, physics, and chemistry; but the efficiency of the measures adopted is low.

The state of affairs in capital construction was analyzed from standpoints of high exactingness. Here, party demands on planning were particularly low and the amendment of plans was practiced widely. Every year the plan was fulfilled; but volumes did not increase over the 5-year plan. The CPSU gorkom and raykoms were in effect under the thumbs of the economic leaders, who secured victory dispatches by means of juggling with the figures.

The report spoke in a well-founded way about shortcomings in the work of transport and communciations and enterprises in the sphere of trade, public catering, and services.

An unsatisfactory situation has grown up in motor transport. The Moscow city Main Administration for Motor Transport (Comrade Vasilyev) and the Moscow city Main Administration of Passenger Transport (Comrade Shipilov) are not meeting the demands of the population or of enterprises. The plan was fulfilled with the usual amendment. Muscovites rightly complain about the operation of passenger transport. Every day some 35 percent of the available motor vehicle pool is not released on the routes for various reasons.

The problem of providing the population with kindergartens and nurseries has not been resolved. Some 65,000 people are on the waiting list. Preschool institutions are overloaded. Moscow Gorispolkom has annually failed to meet its own plans for the construction of children's preschool institutions. As a result the session's decisions are one thing, the reality another.

The most acute problem is that of improving housing conditions for the city's population. Some 16 percent of Muscovites live in communal apartments.

The leitmotif of the report is to creatively improve the style of party work. In the period under review, there has been an increase in the militancy of primary party organizations and the activeness of Communists and in their responsibility for the state of affairs in the labor collectives and the implementation of party policy. This is confirmed, in particular, by the 450,000 criticisms and proposals, some of them directed to the party gorkom, put forward by Communists in the course of reports and elections. At the same time the campaign revealed serious shortcomings in the methods of activity of the party gorkom and its bureau and secretariat as well as in the party raykom: complacency, an uncritical approach in assessing the state of affairs, an inherent feeling that Muscovites must not be criticized. Strengthening Soviet people's health and developing the health care system is a matter of priority importance for party organizations. This problem is especially acute for Moscow. The provision of outpatient clinic facilities in the capital today is only 65 percent of the normative. There are instances of bribe-taking and extortion from patients. This is the result of unsatisfactory work by V. Koroleva, deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, and L. Voro khobov, chief of the Main Administration for Health Care.

At many report and election meetings in primary party organizations and at Communists' conferences in a number of rayons, a critical, constructive analysis of the forms and methods of party leadership of the economy and of educational activity has often been replaced by merely noting shortcomings in enterprises' economic work, and sometimes by frank self-glorification. Certain speeches, especially those by economic leaders, took the form of self-praise, while observations against the party gorkom and raykoms were voiced mainly in the form of requests and wishes.

The idea of improving work with cadres was all-pervading. In most party raykoms and primary party organizations, this work is not of a long-term, systematic nature. There is evidence of a statistical, questionnaire approach to the selection of leadership workers; efforts to study their political, practical, and moral qualities are poor; and the labor collectives' opinion is not taken sufficiently into account. That is why people characterized by inertia and a lack of initiative are often to be found in leadership work.

There have been serious omissions in work with cadres in trade, public catering, and the service sphere. Lack of monitoring, and sometimes outright connivance, and the lack of strict party exactingness has led to a situation where many people here have embarked on the path of money-grubbing, thievery, and bribe-taking.

The weak link in the party gorkom's activity, it was noted from the conference platform, is organizational work to fulfill the decisions adopted. In the period under review, gorkom plenums examined 12 questions, but no one reported on the implementation of the resolutions.

The fact that much time was wasted on holding meetings and endless aktiv sessions to the detriment of practical actions must also be numbered among the serious shortcomings in the gorkom's work style. Party gorkom workers, including secretaries and section chiefs of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, were rare visitors to raykoms and primary party organizations and had few meet-

ings with working people actually in the labor collectives, which means they concerned themselves little with their main task — work with people.

The implementation of very complex tasks, especially social tasks, requires the CPSU gorkom to improve party leadership of the activity of soviets of people's deputies. Much of this work has proved unsuccessful. Changes in the content and style of the Moscow city Soviet's work were changes for the worse. The city's inhabitants are not pleased with the gorispolkom and were severely and justly critical of its leadership. Particular indignation is aroused among Muscovites by instances of violations of the procedure for allocating housing and the failure to adopt measures against drunkards, parasites, speculators, and people living on unearned income.

Ideological education work among the working people was examined comprehensively and searchingly. Many raykoms continue to tolerate the reluctance of ideological and economic cadres to conduct frank, direct, and honest discussions with people. There is evidence of a desire to avoid those unfortunate collectives where you could run into criticism. But that is where they should go first. That is where they will be told the whole truth, bitter though it may be — in a searching atmosphere. People, especially Communists, are not satisfied with the forms and results of work to educate people. They believe the ideological "engine" often runs idly.

It is keen, direct discussion with people that can most rapidly push leaders into prompt, concrete actions. That is the quickest way to get rid of the cancers of indifference, conceit, and the feelings of superiority and cultivate a sense of duty to the people.

Our party, the speaker said, is approaching its routine congress, the 27th. This congress will certianly be of historic significance. It will approve the targets for the next 5 years and the longer term and the tasks of achieving a qualitatively new condition of Soviet society. The Moscow city party organization is also preparing for this event with a special sense of responsibility.

The conference will continue its work 25 January.

## Moscow Party Gorkom Makes Personnel Changes

*PM281635 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 86 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom took place 21 January. The plenum examined and approved the accountability report of Moscow CPSU Gorkom to the 26th report and election conference of Moscow city CPSU organization. B.N. Yeltsin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, was confirmed as rapporteur.

The plenum examined organizational issues. In connection with her retirement on pension R.F. Dementyeva was relieved of the duties of second secretary and Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom. V.G. Zakharov, who had previously worked as first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, was confirmed as second secretary and Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

L.A. Borisov was relieved of the duties of secretary and Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom in connection with his retirement on pension. O.A. Korolev, who had previously worked as general director of Moscow's "Krasnyy Proletariy" machine tool building production association, was elected secretary and Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

The plenum relieved V.F. Promyslov of the duties of Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom in connection with his retirement on pension.

Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V.T. Saykin was elected Bureau member of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

With this the plenum of Moscow CPSU Gorkom completed its work.

## Leningrad Oblast Party Conference Reported

*PM291039 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 86 First Edition p 3*

[Report by correspondent V. Gerasimov: "Concern for the Future. From the Leningrad Oblast Party Conference"]

[Text] An extensive range of socioeconomic problems is covered by the "Intensification-90" territorial-sectorial program which is the organizational foundation for the widespread introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, for a fundamental improvement in labor productivty, better quality products, and rational consumption of resources.

What do Communists need to do to stabilize and accelerate the postive processes and successfully solve the problems that exist in the economy, in science, and in the social sphere? Addressing at the oblast party conference the various aspects of the party organization's activity, the keynote speaker — Leningrad CPSU Obkom First Secretary Yu. Solovyev — and those who contributed to the debate concentrated on an analysis of these very questions, talked more about what has to be done, and saw a link between the style of party work and the results of practical work that can be measured accurately.

Here are some of the results. Industry in Leningrad and the oblast fulfilled ahead of schedule the 5-year plan for the rate of production volume growth and improvement of labor productivity, and machine building is developing at a rapid rate. Production of reactor equipment for the nuclear power industry increased by nearly 100 percent, production tools with digital program control by 50 percent, and "processing centers" and flexible production system units by 200 percent. In the agrarian sector targets on the sale of livestock and crop farming products were overfulfilled.

In short, there have been successes. They are most obvious where the plan foundations for improving production efficiency have been strengthened and economic leaders and the party aktiv are concentrating on using fundamentally important and advanced

scientific and technical ideas, it was noted in the report and in the speeches by A. Gerasimov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Gorkom; Academician I. Glebov, chairman of the Leningrad Scientific Center Presidium; Yu. Yarov and G. Pokhlebenin, first secretaries of Gatchina and Priozersk Gorkoms, and others. But, the speakers said, we must not be content with what we have achieved.

At the moment Leningraders are utilizing intensification factors mainly by means of life labor savings. This is fine, of course. But as yet by no means every ruble invested in providing the necessary ruturn: In industry, construction, and agriculture, for example, the improvement in labor productivity was only half as quick as the increase in the capital-labor ration. Modern automation facilities and computers are not being fully utilized: On the average only 60-70 percent of their capacities are being exploited. The shift index for digital-control machine tools is low.

Other spheres present many contrasts too. The conference compared agricultural rayons which have similar natural and climatic conditions and identical economic potentials. For example, in Gatchinskiy and Volosivskiy Rayons field and livestock unit productivity is improving steadily, while in Luzhskiy, Kingiseppskiy, and Slantsevskiy Rayons milk yields are 800-1,300 kg less than those in Gatchinskiy. In general, although all the farms in the oblast have been profitable in the last three years, the prime cost of products and labor expenditure remain high.

The conference gave the reasons for the shortcomings: Goal-orientated leadership is not provided in every area of party, soviet, and economic activity and meetings; general discussions, and hasty decisions often take the place of purposeful work. This was mentioned in particular by V. Chicherov, leader of a team of fitters at the "Metallicheskiy Zavod" association; O. Chedleyeva, team leader at a livestock raising complex in the "Ruchi" sovkhozes' association; O. Volkov, first secretary of Leninskiy CPSU Raykom; and G. Zagarayeva, assistant foreman at the "Vereteno" factory.

The delegates paid a great deal of attention to problems of improving output quality. The question has been discussed before at plenums and obkom bureau sessions. A territorial system of quality control was set up, but the attitudes of party, economic, and soviet bodies to this very important problem did not radically change. Poor quality products are no rare thing, and there has been no reduction in the number of defecitve items at a number of enterprises. In this connection there was fierce criticism of association directors: N. Kozyrev of "Sevkabel," A. Vasilyev of "Istochnik," and V. Vungiz of "Zvezda" and of A. Grigoryev, A. Zagaryev, and V. Borozdin, party committee secretaries at these enterprises.

Examining the state of affairs in capital construction, the keynote speaker and the other speakers said that the Leningrad construction workers' potential is lagging behind the economy's needs. The obkom bureau has termed the accelerated development of the construction industry a task of paramount importance. But there are other reasons for the lag — unsatisfactory production organization and substandard site preparation. With better organization and discipline it might be possible to improve labor productivity during the 5-year plan by a further 12-15 percent.

It was also said that the obkom's sectorial departments and the planning commissions of the Leningrad Gorispolkom and Leningrad Oblispolkom must put a stop to the dissipation of capital investments and forces. Above all the leaders of Glavleningradinzhstroy, S. Plevko, and Glavleningradstroy, Yu. Kozhukhovskiy, must make a greater effort and their managerial apparatuses' responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of targets must be increased.

The conference paid special attention to questions of work with cadres. There is a system here that makes it possible to react fairly promptly to production needs and to promote skilled specialists to leading posts. But there are serious flaws in the system. How else can one explain the situation cited by V. Meleshchenko, chairman of the oblast People's Control Committee: as a result of checks 133 economic managers were relieved of their jobs for making mistakes and some were prosecuted for overreporting and abuses. Last year party action was taken against more than 600 leaders.

Increased activity, order, and organization depend to a considerable degree on the personality of the leader and his ability to educate people by how own example. Therefore, "passes" to command posts should be allocated on the basis of political, work, and moral qualites and a person's devotion to party and official duty, not on the basis of protection or the desire of some chief to surround himself with obsequious people.

Leningraders are faced with large-scale tasks in the 12th 5-Year Plan. They have to be tackled on the basis of intensive factors. Therefore, the delegates said, it is necessary to work hard and consistently to establish order everywhere, making immediate use of the best experience of organization of production and utilization of the scientific potential and satisfaction of working people's social needs. A great deal of attention was devoted to urgent problems of ideological and mass political work.

The process of the reorganization of thinking is a complex one. This was apparent in the speeches of certain delegates which were more like toned-down personal accountability reports than expositions of principled positions substantiated by original argument. These speakers also tried to ignore shortcomings in their own work and attribute them to reasons beyond their control. To all appearances, hackneyed thinking and verbiage are still in evidence.

The conference discussed the draft new edition of the CPSU Program and party Statutes with the proposed changes and Basic Guidelines for the country's economic and social development.

There was unanimous support for all the provisions of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's statement of the USSR's major new foreign policy initiatives on problems of disarmament and maintenance of peace.

At an organizational plenum Yu.F. Solovyev was elected first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom.

**Nikonov Attends Krasnoyarsk Workers Conference**
*LD291601 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
*1400 GMT 29 Jan 86*

[Excerpts] A regional conference of workers in the agro-industrial complex of the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East, devoted to questions of intensifying organizational work on introducing financial autonomy, collective subcontracting, and intensive technology to arable farming and animal husbandry was held in Krasnoyarsk 28-29 January. The speakers noted that there must be a more resolute improvement in the utilization of the production potential labor incentives is collective subcontracting, and financial autonomy; much work has recently been done to introduce this.

Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee participated in the work of the conference.

**Shestov Reports on Tula Oblast Conference**
*PM281152 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 86*
*First Edition p 2*

[Correspondent V. Shvetsov report: "Renouncing Old Methods; Party Life: at Oblast Conferences"]

[Excerpts] Tula — In the breaks between the sessions of the Tula Oblast party conference, I asked delegates how they thought the discussion was going. Almost all of their replies included the words "pointed," "frank," and "interesting," and all without exception replied "unusual" or "unwanted."

The tone of the discussion was set by the accountability report delivered by Yu. Litvintsev, recently elected first secretary of the party obkom. It was acknowledged that in the past 5-year period, particularly during the last 2 years of the reporting period, the oblast has achieved certain successes. The 5-year plan targets have been fulfilled in terms of growth in production volume, labor productivity, sales of industrial output, and sales to the state of meat, sugar beet, wool, and eggs.

However, something else was also bluntly acknowledged: The party obkom has still not achieved everywhere the shift to intensive management methods. Sixty percent of the enterprises and production units commissioned in the last 10 years are still not being used to full capacity. A considerable proportion of equipment in machine building, metallurgy, the power industry, the chemical industry, and the light and food industry is obsolete. Only 14 percent of main and 8 percent of ancillary production units have been comprehensively mechanized and automated.

The party obkom and the agro-industrial committee have not succeeded in making full use of the potential of agricultural production. The oblast has not fulfilled the 5-year targets for the production and sale of grain, potatoes, vegetables, and milk.

Omissions in the leadership of capital construction, which were also noted at past conferences, are particularly serious. This is still the most backward sector in the oblast's economy: There is no increase in the volumes of construction and installation work, and the deadlines for commissioning installations are being broken every year. The failures in housing construction are extremely intolerable. The oblast was recently quite rightly criticized severely for this at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The report also revealed shortcomings in party leadership of transport, communications, science, the cultural sphere, medicine, and consumer services. The main causes of the omissions were analyzed, and the names of the Communists responsible for the lagging sectors were cited. However, instead of the former abusive, one-sided criticism "from above," there was a sincere call to discuss collectively what had been mentioned; to assess equally frankly the activity in the reporting period of the party obkom, its bureau, secretariat, and sections; to analyze the style and methods of their work; and to jointly outline methods of eradicating the outdated and ways of accelerating this.

Those who spoke in the debate responded to the tone and appeal of the report and were imbued with general concern and responsibility to improve matters.

According to many of those who spoke, the failures in capital construction were also, to a large extent, caused by outdated methods of party leadership. The party obkom's construction section was criticized.

"Its leaders and instructors," N. Somov, chairman of the "Oblkolkhozstroy" association, noted, "must put an end to the behind-closed-doors, red-tape style of work and must visit collectives more frequently, know their needs, and provide practical help on major issues. In 5 years B. Mironov, chief of the construction section, never once attended a meeting at our association."

Members of the obkom bureau and oblast leaders spoke in a principled and self-critical manner.

"Serious shortcomings in many sectors of the national economy became possible because by no means all of us used the right of party criticism and self-criticism," said N. Sinegubov, chairman of the oblispolkom. "For example, any criticism from below directed at a senior worker in the party obkom or oblispolkom, and especially an obkom secretary or oblispolkom chairman, was seen as an extraordinary event. A similar 'model' of style of work took shape in party raykoms, gorkoms, and city rayispolkoms."

The report and the speeches stated that restructuring the style and methods of party leadership and workers' thinking was a complex and at times painful process. It is difficult to abandon the obsolete and the outdated, especially for those who already have established stereotypes. This was also apparent in some of the speeches at the conference. Some of them were consistent with the spirit of notorious old-style, self-congratulatory reports.

For example N. Ryabov, first secretary of Tula party gorkom, opened the debate. One might think that an experienced party worker, leader of the oblast's largest party organization, and obkom bureau member would set an example of exactingness, principledness, and frankness. However, his speech was based on a conventional pattern: successes, shortcomings, moderate self-criticism, tasks, and requests.

Yet there was much criticism of the gorkom in the report and the speeches. Not long before the oblast conference a major extraordinary event took place in the city: Leaders of the city soviet and two of the city's rayispolkoms were relieved of their duties for serious shortcomings. Criminal proceedings are being instituted against a number of officials. There are many rumors in the city. However, the causes of what happened have not been explained to people either at a representative meeting or in the press. And the gorkom first secretary avoided the pointed topic in his speech at the oblast conference. Another representative of the city party organization, N. Zanegin, secretary of the arms plant party committee, did not raise pointed questions in his speech either. Even the speech by Ye. Konstantinov, team leader at the "Tulgorstroy," seemed bland.

"Nevertheless," Hero of Socialist Labor V. Starobudtsev, chairman of the Lenin kolkhoz, said, concluding the debate on the accountability report, "today we have had a pointed, frank, and interested discussion. This is evidence that positive changes have taken shape recently in the style and methods of work of the oblast party organization."

Great attention was paid at the conference to discussion of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Program, the Party Statutes with proposed amendments, and the Basic Guidelines for the country's economic and social development.

K.N. Mogilnichenko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Organizational Work Department, participated in the conference's work.

## Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev Party Conference

*AU271444 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*
*18 Jan 86 pp 1-2*

[RATAU report: "Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress, Improving the Style of Work — From a Conference of Kiev City Party Organization"]

[Excerpts] To check one's accomplishments and plans against the high requirements of the party and its precongress program documents, and to boost the atmosphere of efficiency was an idea emphasized at the 17 January Kiev city report and election party conference whose delegates discussed a gorkom report, the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, and the draft amendments to the party Statutes.

Participating in the conference proceedings were V.V. Shcherbitskiy, I.A. Gerasimov, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, A.P. Lyashko, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A.Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, S.N. Mukha, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, took the floor. The Kiev city conference, he said, ends the report and election campaign in the republic's party organizations. This emphasizes the importance and role of the large detachment of Kiev Communists in the republic's party organization. The city's Communists are undoubtedly well aware of this and fully realize their responsibility for the situation in the republic's capital city.

The conference has confirmed once again: The remarkable peculiarity of the accountability and election campaign consists in the fact that it has been held in a business-like atmosphere, and that is has analyzed and evaluated what has been done in a profound, critical, and demanding way — a way characteristic of the present stage in party activity.

**The CPSU Central Committee political line traced at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum has been thoroughly substantiated and deepened in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program and other precongress documents, and has met with unanimous support on the part of the Communists and all working people.**

The year 1986, which began more than a two weeks ago, will be recorded in history above all as the year of the 27th congress of our Leninist Communist Party. **The country and all fraternal union republics are heading for this remarkable event with weighty achievements.** Our state's economic and defense potential has strengthened, and the lives of the Soviet people have become richer both materially and spiritually. Unity between the party and the people, as well as among all the country's nations and natioalities has become even stronger.

In the period between the congresses, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the entire republic's party organization have directed their efforts primarily at pursuing the CPSU Central Committee's economic policy, and at raising the effectiveness of communal production.

**The republic's economy has made an appreciable step forward.** The targets set for the volume and pace of increasing the national income have been exceeded. Its average annual increases were almost 50 percent higher than in the 10th 5-Year Plan period, and were obtained by raising the productivity of communal labor which rose 22 percent compared with the targeted 19 percent.

As a result of the increased attention to accelerating scientific-technical progress and to enhancing discipline and good organization, in the last years of the past 5-year period we managed to overcome the slackened pace of increasing production. Compared with 1981-82, for example, the rates of raising the volumes of production in industry increased by one-third, and labor productivity 1.8 times. The production potential was used better, and the losses of working time decreased. This made it possible to reduce — and, for a number of indexes, to fully eliminate — the lag incurred in some branches in the first 2 years of the 5-year period.

The application of resource-saving technologies, machines, and equipment on a larger scale, and th utilization of secondary resources in the economic turnover enabled us in th last 5-year period to reduce the material intensity of the social product 3.4 percent compared with the 1.9 percent targeted under the 5-year plan, and to incease the national income by an additional R4 billion.

An extensive program for capital construction was also carried out. More than 130 large industrial enterprises and about 700 production facilities and projects were put into operation.

A great deal has also been done to improve the economic mechanism.

All this is evidence that important steps have been taken to accomplish the complex and large-scale tasks — to make our economy highly dynamic, and to ensure the steep growth of itseffectiveness.

The economic development has provided favorable conditions for fulfilling **the 5-year Social Program**. The working people's incomes increased, and payments an allowances from the public funds of consumption rose. The plans for housing construction were overfulfilled. Some 7.7 million people received separate dwellings. The population's supply with foodstuffs has improved.

On the whole, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, favorable changes have taken place both in production and in the social sphere, and each family and each individual has felt them.

The results of the work done will be thoroughly examined and analyzed with due criticism at the forthcoming congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

A weighty part in the republic's and the country's achievements has been contributed by the inhabitants of Kiev. **The labor collectives of the hero city, the Soviet Union's capital are among frontrankers in socialist competitions in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress.**

The city's working people triumphed in all-Union socialist competitions for 5 successive years, and prefulfilled the 5-year plan and socialist pledges. More than 20 city enterprises and organizations won high state awards for intense and creative work. This applies to the Bolshevik production association, the S. P. Korolev lathe building association, the Kiev trade machine building association, the T. G. Shevchenko State University in Kiev, the Ye. O. Paton Electrowelding Institute, and others.

In a word, V.V. Shcherbitskiy pointed out, a great deal indeed has been done in the period under review and in the 5-year period. However, there are no grounds for complete satisfaction with what has been done. And it was good that both Comrade Yu.N. Yelchenko in the gorkom's report and the delegates in their speeches evaluated the results of the work performed in a self-critical way, revealed shortcomings and omissions, and at the same time showed their causes and culprits, and made concrete proposals how to improve the situation in all sectors. The conference was right to concentrate its attention precisely on this point and thus displayed the maturity and the increased activity and efficiency of the Communists.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on by touching upon some problems and unaccomplished tasks. First of all he emphasized the need to make better use of what is already available in the city and what does not call for big outlays. Kiev's production, scientific, and cultural potential is great and one of the greatest even on a nationwide scale. But the existing possibilities have not been fully utilized, and there are significant reserves. In particular, calculations made by the Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration show that, in 1985, the city enterprises could have supplied additional production worth tens of millions of rubles only by intensifying the work rhythm. What prevented this was the lack of rhythm in production output, which, as is known, is particularly noticeable by the end of each month. This was subject to serious criticism at the Red Excavator and th S. P. Korolev production associations.

Enterprise leaders, the gorkom, and raykoms — and particularly Leningradskiy Raykom (Comrade B.V. Soldatenko, first secretary), Zhovtnevyy Raykom (Comrade A.P. Galeta), Moskovskiy Raykom (Comrade E.V. Zinyuk), and Pecherskiy Raykom (Comrade A.G. Pilipenko) are expected to get down to utilizing this reserve in a businesslike way. After all, the unrhythmical performance of enterprises is among the main causes of both the shortfall in the contracts for supplies, and the poor quality of production.

Many speakers spoke with concern about quality.

**The CPSU Central Committee regards improvements in quality — quality in the broadest sense of the term — as a task of enormous economic and political importance. Time has come to produce not only more, but — what matters most — also better and to reach the world's highest quality standards.**

On the whole, Kiev trade mark is well known both inland and abroad. This primarily applies to products supplied by the lathe-building, the electric precision instrument, the Kiev tractor component parts, the Kiev aviation, and a number of other production associations. More than 60 percent of the total industrial production made in the city and subject to certifying are already of high quality. But it is possible to set a more complex task: **To work out and to take practical measures to sharply improve the quality of the entire production, to apply new kinds and to upgrade the qualitative features of materials, machines, equipment, and consumer goods in high demand among the population. The inhabitants of Kiev are apt to do this.**

The speaker went on by pointing out that in Kiev there were about 400 scientific research institutes, designing, and technology planning organizations with a staff running into tens of thousands of qualified specialists. They are up to the most complex tasks.

Those called upon to champion scientific-technical progress are primarily designers and planners who form in Kiev an entire army of 83,000. After all, the results of the entire work performed to accelerated scientific technical progress in the most direct way depend on the ideas laid by them in their papers. This is why it is necessary to persistently raise the effectiveness of research, and to consolidate business ties between production collectives, on the one hand, and scientific research and planning organizations, on the other.

And the city possesses good experience in this work. The All-Union Planning and Designing Technological Institute for Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building and the Leninskaya Kuznitsa plant have developed a technology for vacuum and pellicular molding [vakuumno-plenochnaya for-

movka] in the production of nonferrous metal ingots. Its application has made it possible to double labor productivity in trimming [obrubka] which ranks among the hardest and most labor consuming processes.

This is what is needed, V.V. Shcherbitskiy pointed out. After all, the share of manual labor at enterprises and projects is still great. In the present 5-year period, the share of manual labor has to be reduced at least 50 percent. As estimates show, for the inhabitants of Kiev this is absolutely feasible. And all are expected to lay both hands on this task, as they say.

Many comrades spoke about the need to sharply turn the attention of all our cadres toward the accomplishment of tasks for intensifying the economy on the basis of accelerating scientific-technical progress. And for this purpose we must aspire that **each scientist, specialist, and worker not only be perfectly aware of the urgent need for radical changes in technical affairs and technology, but also do the utmost to put them into effect**.

What matters in this respect — both politically and economically — is the active participation of the city's and the entire republic's enterprises and scientific institutions in implementing the comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress in CEMA member countries up to the year 2000.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Program, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, has set the task **to substantially raise the Soviet people's prosperity, and to provide conditions for shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich personality**. In the republic's capital, much attention has been paid to the accomplishment of this task. If someone lists everything done in Kiev to improve services and amenities, as well as working, living, and recreation conditions for the city population, he will obtain a very impressive list. The city is growing, speaking figuratively, both vertically and horizontally, and as far as the population is concerned, the rates of its growth surpass the forecasts, and this brings additional problems.

Besides, the speaker pointed out, not everything is being done the way we would like or it should be done. In particular, the city is not developing comprehensively enough. Certainly, it is not easy to see to it that a city as large as Kiev develops comprehensively. For this reason the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has instructed Gosplan to prepare appropriate proposals aimed at an all-round development of the repiblic's capital city as a large sociopolitical center.

Let us hope, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said, that responsible functionaries of Ukrainian Gosplan, and primarily V. A. Masol, its chairman, will handle this commission with full and deep understanding for problems arising before the republic's capital, and that the Ukrainian Council of Ministers will second these proposals and will take steps in the immediate future to reduce the number of these problems both in Kiev city and Kiev Oblast.

However, the fact is that there have been many justified complaints from the city inhabitants and visitors about unattentiveness to the needs of people and about carelessness in handling the matter at hand at a number of service enterprises. The leaders and party organizations of those enterprises should pay the most serious attention to this matter. The gorispolkom and its chairman, Comrade V. A. Zgurskiy, must increase responsibility and demand stricter accounts for improvements in the performance of establishments and services on which the lives, recreation, health, and, in the final account, the moods of the working people depend.

Of course, more concern about the city's development, law and order should be displayed by all the republic's ministries, and particularly the Ministries of Housing and Municipal Services, Trade, Consumer Services, and Health. We must get rid of the formalism, indifference, and irresponsibility that have afflicted some functionaries, and must improve the selection and distribution of cadres in the sphere of consumer and health services.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy also touched upon the issue of foodstuff supplies to the Kiev population. Some 5 years ago, the task was set to turn Kiev Oblast into a zone guaranteeing to the capital's population supplies above all of milk, eggs, vegetables, potatoes, and berrries. And a great deal has been done in this respect. But the task has only been accomplished half way. The city's needs for stockbreeding produce, some vegetables, fruit, and berries still have not been met.

Recently, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has approved a number of measures to further develop in the 12th 5- Year Plan period and to increase the effectiveness of Kiev Oblast agriculture and other branches of the agro-industrial complex, and this will undoubtedly help improve the supplies of the necessary produce to the city. The city's labor collectives are expected to actively participate in accomplishing this task both by coping well with their planned targets, and by intensifying their patronage assistance. More attention has to be paid to the development of farms subsidiary to enterprises and organizations, to the expansion of collective gardening and vegetable growing, and to the work of market places.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted then that, in the period under review, the **gorkom did a great deal to improve organizational work**. The style of work has improved, the gorkom's links with raykoms and the masses have strengthened, and their influence on the lives and affairs of labor collectives has increased.

In 1985, the efforts of the gorkom, raykom and party organizations were concentrated primarily on accomplishing the tasks set by the April and the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums. And this was right. However, they failed to see to it that all the tasks set be accomplished fully and on schedule, and that the level of discipline and organization be reliable in all sectors.

The organization of implementing the decisions adopted and control over execution remain to be the most annoying bottlenecks in the gorkom's activity. Bearing responsibility for this are, of course, the gorkom bureau and above all Comrades Yu.N. Yelchenko and S.M. Martynyuk.

The critical remarks and proposals made at the preceding city party conference have not been fullly complied with. In particular, the lag incurred in the production of some manufactured articles, particularly consumer goods, has not been overcome. The equipment shift intensity factor has practically not

increased. Also the situation in housing repair is improving too slowly.

The conference delegates remember that, early in the 11th 5-Year Plan period, an extensive city program had been worked out: "What Is the Best — For Children." And although its results were, on the whole, tangible, after some time the program has sloped downward. Warm meals and medical services for children have not been duly provided everywhere in the city. City enterprises — in particular the Kashtan garments production association and the footwear factories named after the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Ukraine and the 10th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Komsomol — have reduced the production of goods for children and teenagers. This is why the city's stores not always have on stock appropriate footwear, jackets, coats, and other articles in good quality. The situation has to be rememdied, and without delay.

The gorkom, raykoms, and basic party organizations must systematically examine the progress made in complying with the decisions adopted, as well as the critical remarks and proposals made by the Communists. The struggle also must be intensified for the purity of party ranks, and for boosting party, state, and labor discipline. An irreconcilable attitude must be assumed everywhere to idlers, spongers, and persons abusing the official status and alcohol.

We have to proceed from the assumption that, in the struggle against negative phenomena, we are still a long way from having done our best. This work has to be carried out constantly and more strictly.

In its entire organizational party work, the gorkom bureau has to concentrate its efforts on inducing **raykoms to shift in earnest the center of gravity of their activity to basic party organizations and labor collectives, and to increase the responsibility of cadres for the matter at hand**. All must in a business-like manner set about enhancing the effectiveness of work in every sector, and must promote by all means the initiative of the masses in this field, criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below.

Naturally enough, the accomplishment of the current tasks has been closely linked with increasing the role of **ideoeducational work**. However, many ideological subunits in the city are slow in restructuring.

Taking into account the struggle for a sound way of life, more attention has to be paid today to the development of the sociocultural sphere. It is absolutely abnormal that housing units as populous as Obolon, Teremki, and Boshchagovka still practically lack sports facilitie and the necessary cultural and enlightening establishments. City enterprises and organizations have to be more actively engaged in the construction of and fitting out of health service, emlighting, cultural, and sports establishments.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy also tackled the following question. **Kiev has always been a city of high artistic standards**, has been renowned for people who are, without exaggeration, well known all over the world. Certainly the inhabitants of Kiev must not lose these traditions. And although the cultural life of the republic's capital is constantly growing richer, a great deal is still to be done.

The poster annoucing theater shows and concerts is known to be a kind of barometer for the artistic life of a city. Let us be frank, in this respect there are still significant imperfections. Apparently, the trouble is not only that the repertoire is slow to renew in line with the requirements of life, but also that the professional standards of many shows and concerts are low. And this is to be explained by poor work among cadres in creative collectives, and primarily among chief directors and ensemble leaders. We must set about strengthening the material base of the cultural sphere, must be bolder in promoting young people, must be more outspoken in raising issues concerning quality, and must develop in breadth and in depth. For example, there have been long talks about creating small theater stages in houses of culture and workers' clubs, but things have not advanced an inch.

In settling these and other problems, no due initiative and persistence have been displayed by Comrade D.B. Golovko, gorkom secretary, Comrade G.N. Menzheres, gorispolkom deputy chairman, and also by departments of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Ministry of Culture, the gorkom, and the gorispolkom are obligated to constantly see to it that the cultural life of the republic's capital city be, in the true sense of the word, up to the pulse of time.

The republic's production collectives, V.V. Shcherbitskiy then pointed out, have begun the first year of the 5-year period in a good rhythm. **The conscientious daily toil performed by manh millions of people, the mass initiative and search for reserves have most convincingly reflected our people's patriotic aspiration to do the utmost so that our beloved homeland may continue to prosper**.

And the tasks ahead of us are responsible and sizeable. The 1986 plans have been approved both for enterprises and the republic as a whole. Socialist pledges assumed by the Ukraine's working people were also published yesterday. What we need is to further increase the volumes of production, and to raise its effectiveness mainly by accelerating scientific-technical progress and by better utilizing fixed assets and material resources.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy quoted the following data: In the current year, the republic's scientific-technical programs should produce an economic effect exceeding R1 billion, or twice as much as the annual average in the 11th 5-Year Plan period.

For this reason, he said, from the first days of the new year things have to be organized in such a way as to absolutely fulfill the national economic plans. And the Communists of our republic's capital city are expected to set an example in this respect.

The conference participants have made a number of critical remarks and proposals, including some concerning the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and other republic bodies. All of them will be carefully examined, taken into consideration, and concrete proposals will, as far as possible, be complied with.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on: As before, our plans are definitely peaceful and creative in nature. The draft precongress documents have convincingly reflected the consistent foreign political line pursued by our party and state at precluding a thermonuclear war and at strengthening international security.

As is known, the day before yesterday **M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, made a very important statement on questions concerning arms limitation and disarmament. This is a comprehensive and concrete program put forward for the first time for the stagewise, complete, and general elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000, under the condition that the development, tests, and deployment of space strike weapons will be banned.**

The press, radio, and television in all countries, as well as prominent politicians, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said, have now paid their main attention to M.S. Gorbachev's statement, assessing the new Soviet proposals as a peaceful invitiative of historic importance. These proposals have been unanixously approved by all Soviet people, by our allies and friends, and, judging from the first responses, they have met with wide support all over the world. We should make most vigorous use of this statement and of the procongress documents to convincingly explain our peace-loving policy, to unmask those who push mankind toward nuclear catastrophe, and to mobilize labor collectives nor the successful accomplishment of the tasks confronting us.

There is a little more than a month to go to the party congress which will undoubtedly become a central political event in the world. The congress will define both our immediate and long term tasks.

Everything that is now being done is very valuable, because the current 5-year period should mark a turning point in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. We all must bear this constantly in mind, act enterprisingly, and ensure a maximum economic effect with a minimal outlay.

The Communists of the Soviet Ukraine's capital city and all inhabitants of Kiev will undoubtedly do their best and will creditably fulfill the decisions of the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress.

After the conference Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy visited a number of city enterprises and organizations.

At the Kievlanka factory, he discussed with the workers, party and economic aktivs the ways to expand the choice and to improve the quality of consumer goods, and to utilize the existing reserves. V.V. Shcherbitskiy inquired about the working, living, and recreation conditions enjoyed by the enterprise working people, and about the 12th 5-Year Plan for the enterprises socioeconomic development.

In scientific research institutions, the topics discussed were increasing the effectiveness of research, the development of new in principle technologies and machines, and increasing the share of scientists in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Conversations were also held in the headquarters of Kiev Gorkom, and the Leningradskiy and Moskovskiy Raykoms. Problems were discussed concerning preparations for the 27th party congress, and improvements in party control over the city's socioeconomic development in line with the decisions of the April and the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums. Particular attention was paid to improvements in the selection and education of cadres, and to increasing their responsibility for the matter at hand.

On the city tour, V.V. Shcherbitskiy was accompanied by Yu. N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committtee Politburo member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary, and V. A. Zgurskiy, Kiev Gorispolkom chairman.

## Kiev Party Conference Elects New Obkom Members

*AU280951 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 19 Jan 86 p 1*

[RATAU report: "At the Kiev City Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] On 18 January, the Kiev city report and election party conference continued its proceedings. The delegates with great interest and in close connection with the current and long-term tasks confronting party organizations, administrative and economic bodies, and labor collectives in the city discussed the Draft Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-90 and up to the Year 2000. A report was delivered by V.A. Zgurskiy, gorispolkom chairman.

A new composition of the obkom and the Auditing Commision, as well as delegates to the 27th CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Congresses were elected.

A gorkom plenum was held to examine organizational issues. Yu.N. Yelchenko was elected gorkom first secretary, S.M. Marynyuk — second secretary, and V.I. Mikhaylovskiy, M.B. Sergesev, and E.M. Yakovleva — secretaries.5

## Ukrainian CP Central Committee Holds Plenum

*AU291205 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Jan 86 p 1*

["Information Announcement on a Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee was held on 24 January.

The plenum examined the issue of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee report at the 27th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress. A briefing on the report was given by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

Participating in the discussion were: V.P. Mironov, Donetsk Obkom first secretary; V.G. Boyko, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom first secretary; A.D. Petsa, comprehensive brigade leader at the 22d Party Congress Kolkhoz in Mukachevskiy Rayon, Zakarpatskaya Oblast; I.K. Lutak, Cherkassy Obkom first secretary; V.I.

Yurchuk, director of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee — a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee; A.G. Pilipenko, Pecherskiy Raykom first secretary in Kiev city; and V.G. Dikusarov, Khmelnitskiy Obkom first secretary.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy delivered a concluding speech.

The plenum unanimously approved the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee report to the 27th Communist Party Congress.

With this the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum ended its proceedings.

## Doctor Comments on Anti-Alcohol Campaign

*LD291411 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Jan 86*

[Interview of Doctor of Medicine (Semen Aleksandrovich Simbirtsev), rector of the Kirov State Institute for the Improvement of Doctors and chairman of the Leningrad Organization of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, by radio correspondent Matvey Frolov on the progress of the antialcohol campaign; date and place not specified — recorded]

[Text] Many of you, comrades, have probably paid attention to two figures cited in the CSA report on last year's results. Sales of alcoholic drinks fell in June-December by 25 percent compared with the same period in the previous year, and the number of shops trading in vodka and wines was halved. It is of course not just a matter of figures, but they reflect the nature and scale of the progress in overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. The main thing is that the majority of the country's towns, rayons, and labor collectives have gone from complaining and pleading with boozers to a resolute struggle against them.

We would like to present an interview given to our correspondent Matvey Frolov by Doctor of Medicine, (Semen Aleksandrovich Simbirtsev), rector of the Kirov State Institute for the Improvement of Doctors and chairman of the Leningrad organization of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety.

[Begin recording] [Simbirtsev] In Leningrad, as throughout the country, work has now developed to organize the voluntary Sobriety Society. There has been a constituent conference; a board has been formed; the corresponding administrative organs have been formed in the rayons; and now the active period of organizing primary cells in labor collectives, educational establishments, and housing areas of citizens has begun. It must be said that in December alone, more than 700 primary organizations of the Voluntary Sobriety Society were formed. More than 9,000 people had become members of the society as of 1 January 1986. Reports have been coming in during January that this work is developing even more, and many citizens are becoming members of the Voluntary Society. Analyzing the composition of people joining, it has turned out that 40 percent are from labor collectives; about 50 percent are members of the party or the Komsomol. A third of them are women. All of them energetically express their readiness to engage in propaganda of antialcohol work and in the organization of leisure time in slabor collectives and families. Of course, all this is finding general support and approval in many labor collectives. The supporters of complete eradication of drunkenness and alcoholism include many energetic people who are carrying out this work in labor collectives, in families, and in housing areas. The membership of the society is following the example of the sobriety clubs now being formed in Leningrad. It is important that this atmosphere of intolerance and social censure be created in collectives. This is probably one of the most basic tasks.

[Frolov] Semen Aleksandrovich, I think that the work of the Society is not just propaganda and education, but also some kind of organizational work, because one can still often see a worker at a construction site lining up for vodka then returning to work with the bottle. Why try to hide it? There are still instances of people drinking at work, so evidently the front for the most varied work is a big one.

[Simbirtsev] Yes, you are right. These instances are already becoming less and less frequent, because administrative measures have been adopted. It is the task of the Voluntary Society to be the energetic assistant to party and administrative [administrativnyy] bodies in establishing order and changing public psychology.

[Frolov] Could you say a little, please, about the results, the first results, of all this work?

[Simbirtsev] Now there is more order on the streets. In any case, one does not notice drunks so often. There are hardly any on public transport. The movement for a sober way of life is broadening noticeably as is the movement for strengthening of labor and production discipline, which is of the most colossal importance. As indicated by the internal affairs administrative bodies, there are now fewer crimes caused by drunkenness. There are now more people who have begun to spend their leisure taking part in sports and in health campaigns. There are more people going after season tickets for swimming pools and joining health groups. Peace and quiet has returned to many blocks of apartments. Ambulance calls for injuries to drunks have fallen. We doctors can give precise confirmation of this, because these phenomena are registered. I think that broad involvement of the public — all people in labor collectives, educational collectives, and housing areas — will bring even greater success. I think our Leningrad organization of the Voluntary Sobriety Society will make its significant contribution to this very important antialcohol work being carried out in our country. [end recording]

## Kirghizia's Masaliyev Denounces Corruption

*AU291821 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 29 Jan 86*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 29 (AFP) — A small Soviet republic in Central Asia, Kirgizia, has been a center of corruption both for Communist Party leaders and racketeers, while some of the population lived in near misery, according to the new regional Communist Party chief quoted in newspapers delivered here today.

Absamat Masaliyev, in a speech to the local party leadership last Thursday, revealed that "organized crime flourished," often with the connivence of local authorities.

Since Mr. Masaliyev became party leader of Kirgizia two months ago, all the Communist Party secretaries have been replaced.

Giving examples of fraud and mismanagement, Mr. Masaliyev said that four million dollars had been misappropriated and 50 million dollars worth of industrial machinery found to have been delivered, but never installed. Mr. Masaliyev said that his predecessors had built a "white city" of granite and marble for themselves in the capital Frunze, billed at more than five million dollars, while "400 families live in shacks." Some of the republic's four million people wrote directly to the Kremlin to complain, he said.

Much of the corruption is attributed to former leader Turdakun Usubaliyev, who headed Kirgizia for more than a quarter century after the then Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev gave him that post.

Although a massive purge of the local leadership was officially announced a few months ago, figures have only just been released. Eighty-seven per cent of top administrators were dismissed in the last five years, as well as half of all economists. 82 per cent of the party officials of the last five years had been sacked.

A meat racket was organized in the region of Tokmak, where inspectors closed their eyes to strange goings-on, for a fee, during five checks. The result was a shortage in meat in the province, he said, where meat consumption is 25 per cent lower than the national average. Meat production for 1984 was lower than in 1975, he said.

Agricultural productivity declined five per cent, he said.

Amanbek Karypkulov, the regional party secretary in charge of ideology spent most of his time writing "his doctorate thesis and five books that earned him a pretty sum," Mr Masaliyev said, while religious communities he was meant to keep tabs on "grew 16 per cent in five years, he said.

## Mazurenko Interviews Yevgeniy Yevtushenko

*PM291401 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jan 86 p 4*

[Interview with the poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko by correspondent S. Mazurenko under the rubric "The Artist and the Times": "'A poet in Russia is More Than a Poet'" — date and place not stated]

[Text] [Mazurenko] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, in the preface to your book *I Am of Siberian Stock* [*Ya Sibirskoy Porody*] the poet Boris Slutskiy wrote: "Here is poetry which has assumed all the qualities of journalism without losing much of what has made it poetry." And I should like to begin our talk with a question: Why have you so resolutely chosen publicist poetry — on a topic of the day, as they say?

[Yevtushenko] A real poet does not have the right to turn away from what is topical. Kindness and civic rage mutually extend each other. Kindness toward the beautiful is powerless unless it is armed with healthy rage against everything which opposes it. At the same time firmness devoid of kindness can result in embitterment. and, unnoticed by the person himself, instead of a struggle for other people there begins an individualistic struggle... for himself.

History knows many examples of good people being diminished because of a lack of civic energy while people full of energy but lacking kindness and ideals have become the embodiment of evil, even if they declared lofty goals. Civic energy, which helps people to love the beautiful effectively and to hate everything which opposes our ideals — that is what we need in all spheres of life, including literature. A poet is not worth much who sentimentally extols his native birch trees, endlessly declares his love for his motherland, glorifies cosmonauts and new construction sites and at the same time does not find the civic boldness in himself to speak not only of the victories of the past but also of bitter experience and errors, to oppose uncompromisingly the bureaucrats, the "suppose something goes wrong-ers," and the swindlers who profit from shortages...

If the poet now turns away from the most lethal "topic of the day" — from the nuclear threat looming over our children's heads — that, in my opinion, is evidence of his civic inadequacy. But if he eagerly writes rhetorical verse about the struggle for peace and at the same time is afraid to touch on urgent domestic problems, that is also a mere simulacrum of civic spirit. Concentrating only on peripheral scoundrels, totally failing to notice that (as Mayakovskiy wrote) they are also walking "across our land" is again a mere semblance of "topicality..."

But we cannot reduce all poetry's tasks to direct tub-thumping. A poet who limits himself loses his sense of the wealth of color, sound, music, and love, and moves from the psychological study of the immensity of the human spirit to mere oratory. Of course, there is great oratory, like Mayakovskiy's for instance... Although obviously it is not appropriate to repeat today all Mayakovskiy's agitation methods, because the reader has changed. Topical problems today cannot be resolved with the aid of ROST [expansion unknown] placards...

[Mazurenko] You make frequent use of the word "civicism." What is it, in your view? A property of poetry in general or a quality inherent in individual poets?

[Yevtushenko] In our country things have taken shape historically in such a way that great poets have been the sovereigns, not the "sweeteners" of thoughts. Nekrasov's lines about the peasants "repealed" serfdom far more resolutely than measures "from above." Mayakovskiy predicted prophetically: "The year 1916 will in a crown of thorns." He was only a year out. In Russia there has not been a single major "Hermetic" poet as there has been in Europe, for instance.

[Mazurenko] That is, to use a line from your poem *The Bratsk GES*, "the poet in Russia is more than a poet..."

[Yevtushenko] Yes. The poetry of "hermeticism" was once ascribed to B. Pasternak (here lines of his like "What millenium

are we in outside, my dears?" were quoted...) but this poet, who once seemed excessively complex, is becoming increasingly readable with time. Not only Yesenin's genuinely popular verse but also Tsvetayeva, Akhmatova, Martynov, Zabolotskiy — also civic poets — are now being disseminated in hundreds of thousands of copies...

Civicism is not simply a formal response to particular events but an inextricable link with the motherland, with history. It is a daily rejection of complacency. It is morality in action. Obviously some most intimate verse cannot be taken from it. Pushkin's "I used to love you and love perhaps still..." contains more civicism than hundreds of didactic little verses on "topical" themes, because here the great civic idea of the intolerability of a proprietorial attitude toward a woman is invested with a lyrical, ethereal form...

Civicism is historical publicity, but also personal, heartfelt publicity. It is hard to believe a poet's public statements if the poet himself as an individual is unclear and unrevealed.

Some readers rebuke me for the fact that in the poem *Taboo!* I am excessively frank in revealing my family wounds to everyone when I speak of my younger son's illness. But what right would I have to touch the wounds of others if I did not touch my own? Those who dare to confess have the right to preach. Of course, there will always be gloating sniggers and gossip when the poet "lifts the curtain" on his own personal life but one must aim not toward *Schadenfreude* [pleasure derived from the misery of others] but toward understanding and sympathy. If Mayakovskiy or Yesenin had stopped to consider *Schadenfreude* there would have been no *Cloud in Trousers*, no *Black Man*. Civicism is the complete openness of the time and of oneself.

[Mazurenko] What particularly perturbs you today in connection with the changes taking place in our life, the new approaches and new rhythms of development?

[Yevtushenko] The development of economic thinking is impossible without the development of moral awareness. One of the main present-day moral processes is the development and institution of broad publicity. This process is not that simple because inertia — thinking as they are prompted — has become firmly entrenched in the convolutions of some bureaucrats' brains. But publicity meets with broad popular support, including support from writers. The distinguishing feature of the speeches of a number of delegates to the sixth RSFSR Writers Congress was their constructively critical approach to a number of urgent problems. In particular the speeches delivered by V. Rasuptin and S. Zalygin in defense of our long-suffering mother nature were of this sort. Many writers called for a more vigorous struggle against the grayness which lays claim to civicism...

A very important task of literature is to prepare the future. The prospect of a nuclear-free millenium for which we are struggling could prove to be a reality. But for that we must all work with the utmost effort. If instead of arms expenditure all material and spiritual resources go on the struggle against hunger, disease, unemployment, the pollution of the environment, and the pollution and breakup of human souls, then this nuclear-free millenium could be the era of a new Renaissance.

If we are speaking of the most repulsive features of human nature which must be combatted implacably, then there is above all indifference. Indifference is not simply self-defense. Indifference is aggression.

[Mazurenko] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, you frequently make trips abroad. Just recently you visited the PRC and Turkey. What were your impressions?

[Yevtushenko] In China I was struck by the attraction toward our literature — in the past year alone about 200 works of Soviet literature have been published. This is evidence of the desire of the progressive Chinese intelligentsia and Chinese people to restore good-neighborly relations between our two great countries. In Turkey I was touched by the warm reception given to my poems and the movie *The Kindergarten*. The role of art is the role of a uniter of peoples. And what divides them is anti-art.

[Mazurenko] But do we not overestimate the power of poetry? After all recently, to judge by the layers of poetry anthologies on store shelves, which was not and could not have been the case in the sixties, for instance, interest in poetry has slackened. Perhaps that is what has obliged you to engage in photography and movie production?

[Yevtushenko] The readers' interest has only weakened in weak poetry. It is impossible to publish in such nauseating quantity so many poems "about nothing" which do not even attempt to speak with talent about the most important things which really perturb readers. Why should readers be interested in poets who are not interested in them?

Books by poets the people love never lie for a long time on the shelves. It is merely necessary only to publish in large numbers what really deserves it. To take into account the real demand of our enlightened reader. Then the piles of rhymed pulp will disappear. And we will see that interest in poetry has by no means weakened but has increased.

I began to engage in prose and the cinema by no means in connection with a weakened interest in poetry but from a desire for self-development. Confession and the principled nature of one's social position are important, not the form in which this has been expressed. Prose has its advantages and the cinema has its advantages too.

[Mazurenko] And the traditional question: What about your plans?

[Yevtushenko] I have many plans, but life is short. Just before the New Year my book *Nearly the End* [*Pochti Naposledok*] including the poems *Taboo!* and *Far-Off Kinswoman* and my lyrical poems of the past few years was published by Molodaya Gvardiya. Readers should not be alarmed at the book's title, because this "nearly" can be extended a long way, like the Saratov three-part harmony [reference unknown]. But a man must understand that his life is not endless. A lot can be done under the sign of this compressed infinity. In the long term — several novels. In the short term a poem about love, which has arisen unexpectedly, and the completion of a story about the soccer players of the generation of Khomich and Bobrov —

*Veterans' Match.*

The Italian firm Newteam has suggested making a movie based on my scenario *The End of the Musketeers*, adapted from A. Dumas' novel *The Vicomte de Bragelonne or Ten Years Later*. There have been many different screen versions of the epic of the Three Musketeers but not one has touched on the musketeers' old age and death. The film centers on the tragedy of the senseless heroism of the four remarkably talented men who spent their whole lives using their swordsmanship for palace intrigues and ultimately realized that they were being played with like puppets. In my version the musketeers, including d'Artagnan, eventually become rebels, expiating in old age the guilt of their prolonged compromise. When I have made this film I do not want to give up cinematography. Films like Bykov's *Scarecrow*, German's *My Friend Ivan Lapshin*, Esadze's *Nylon Fir Tree*, Abdrashitov's *Parade of the Planets* and others convincingly show the promising potential of this most democratic art form.

## Philosopher Khalipov Writes on Classless Society

*PM211445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 86*
*First Edition pp 2-3*

[Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. Khalipov article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "The Classless Structure of Society: Formation Trends"]

[Text] The dream of mankind's "golden age," when all people will be equal and when not a trace will remain of exploitation, poverty, or lack of rights, has lived through the ages in the people's consciousness. This dream became a justifiable hope when the classical writers of Marxism defined the only true path to its realization. And with the victory of October the historic transformation of dream into reality began. Socialism put an end forever to the exploitation of man by man, social oppression, and the power of the privileged minority. The indissoluble union of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia became established in Soviet society and major steps were taken along the path toward social homogeneity.

Our party's social policy, expressing the working people's vital interests, ensures society's steady ascent toward qualitatively new heights. To this end the party analyzes in depth and utilizes skillfully the natural laws of social development under socialism. As is noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, these important laws include the further rapprochement of classes and social groups and the formation of a classless structure of society, with the leading role in this process being played by the working class.

The task of creating a largely classless structure is an integral part of the concept of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the attainment of a qualitatively new state of Soviet society. This emerges quite clearly from the draft of the party's very important theoretical and political document.

What trends are operating, what phenomena and processes are now most important and characteristic, how the acceleration of the country's development is affecting progress toward the classless society — these questions are among the most important in the theory and practice of improving socialism.

In order to understand the potentialities and nature of the formation of the classless structure of society it is important to take into account that the working class is the first and only class to win political power not in order to perpetuate it, but in order to free itself and all who are oppressed from social and national oppression, and ultimately to put an end to the division of society into classes once and for all. The founders of revolutionary doctrine laid down that under socialism not only antagonistic classes would be destroyed, (this has been confirmed in practice), but classes in general. "Socialism," V.I. Lenin noted, "is the destruction of classes" (*Complete Collected Works*, Vol 39, p 276).

Naturally, this is a long-term programmatic objective, but we have already advanced substantially toward it. Of course, there is much that still requires in-depth theoretical study and practical resolution.

Building its policy on scientific foundations, the party proceeds on the basis of the reality of class and social distinctions and regards the careful consideration of the particular interests of class and social groups as a matter of paramount significance. Here it must be taken into account that the process of forming a socially homogeneous society will only be completed as a result of the final elimination of the vestiges of the old division of labor and the substantial social distinctions associated with it.

The formation of a classless society takes place according to objective laws, a knowledge of which helps us to make use of them effectively. Here a tremendous role belongs to the subjective factor of the masses' conscious activity under the party's leadership. V.I. Lenin accurately and graphically called the process of the formation of the future society socialist building. People are indeed building it, and quite consciously. There is a genuine new phenomenon in history. There was no such thing as feudal building, nor is there capitialist building. But the building of the socialist and communist society, its improvement, and the acceleration of its development is not only a conscious act, but a particularly crucial one. What is still more unusual in history is the building of a society without classes, and, moreover, by people who belong to different — albeit friendly — classes: workers and peasants. That is why such great significance is attached to the conclusion contained in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program: The overcoming of the distinctions between these classes and the establishment in the country of a society without classes will take place within the historical framework of the first phase of the communist formation.

Of course, it would be simplistic to understand the process of the creation of such a society as solely a restructuring of the social class structure. Creating a classless structure of society and realizing the idea of social justice and equality at a higher, qualitatively new level means restructuring accordingly both the economy and social relations, developing socialist democracy, enriching the content of the people's socialist self-management, improving their spiritual life, and forming the new person appropriate to the new condition of society.

Accelerating the country's socioeconomic development means shortening the historical period required to create the prerequisites in all spheres of life for the transition to a society without classes. Decisive significance will be attached to the next 15 years, during which the radical changes outlined in the party's precongress documents are proposed.

The prerequisites for building a classless society emerge first and foremost in the economic sphere. A unified national economic complex is developing successfully, and is the manifestation of the physically integrated economic system of socialism and of the process of the further socialization of labor and production. A fundamental integrality also characterizes the party's economic strategy, formulated in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program and the Draft Basic Guidelines for the country's economic and social development.

The main efforts in the economy are aimed at improving the standard and quality of the life of the Soviet people — specifically of the people as a whole. And this also objectively promotes the erasure of class boundaries and the elimination of the mentality whereby people allocate themselves to a particular social group.

The improvement of production relations is of great significance for the formation of the classless structure of society. The prospect of the merging of the state and kolkhoz-cooperative forms of ownership into a unified system of ownership by the whole people is becoming more tangible. In this process there is a growing role for the agro-industrial complex, which organically links material production in the cities and the countryside.

In the social sphere, thanks to the social policy developed and persistently implemented by the party and the Soviet State, there is an increasing erasure of class and intraclass distinctions and substantial distinctions between the cities and the countryside and between mental and physical labor, and we are seeing the all-around development and rapprochement of all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups. Territorial and regional social distinctions are also being smoothed out. The further rallying of the whole Soviet people — a new historical, social, and international community of people — is taking place.

Working conditions in different sectors are becoming more similar on the firm material basis of the socialization of labor and the progressive development of production. The draft new edition of the CPSU Program provides for the stepping up of the creative content and collectivist nature of labor and a significant reduction in manual labor and the substantial lessening — and, in the long term, the elimination — of monotonous, physically heavy, and unskilled labor. The leveling out of working conditions is an important prerequisite for the formation of classless society. Living conditions are also becoming standardized to some degree. The milieu directly inhabited by man if being reorganized and becoming more homogenous, taking on to a significant degree the general features of "urban" culture (although ideally it would be desirable to preserve some elements of "rural" culture, such as, for instance, man's closeness to nature and so forth).

The labor collectives are of great significance in the formation of a classless structure. Their role in the social structure of Soviet society is growing. The processes of integration taking place in social strata and groups and the erasure of social class distinctions are carried out through them.

But if we look not only at today, but at tomorrow, it must be taken into account that even the future classless society will not be socially unstructured. In that society — the association of working people of which the founders of Marxism spoke — the labor collectives must be important structural elements. It seems to us that these collectives will not be small ones. The traits of the structural cells of the future social organism are today emerging and being developed increasingly in the collectives of major production and science-and-production associations.

In the political sphere, from the viewpoint of the consolidation of the prerequisites of the transition to a classless socialist society, it is hardly possible to overestimate the role of such social facts as the transformation of the CPSU, which remains in its class essence and ideology a party of the working class, into a party of all the people; the deepening of our state's nature as a state of the whole people; and the improvement of democracy, the increasingly multifaceted involvement of the working people in the management of the affairs of state and society, and the development of socialist self-management by the people — and that means the people as a whole, not its component class and social groups.

An important factor in the growth of the classless structure is the fact that all Soviet people, regardless of class and social affiliation, enjoy the full political, socioeconomic, cultural, and personal rights and freedoms guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

Or take this fact: The introduction of wages, social security, and paid leave on kolkhozes and the creation of trade union organizations there substantially changes their socioeconomic nature and markedly strengthens the commonality, similarity, and unity of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry in general.

The erasure of distinctions between classes also accelerates the further improvement of the well-being of all strata and social groups of Soviet society which is taking place, as the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes, in line with the country's economic potential. As public wealth grows, the size of the minimum wage will increase. The party sees the resolute eradication of unearned income, all deviations from the socialist principles of distribution, antisocial forms of redistribution of income and benefits, parasitism, and speculation as part of the process of establishing social justice everywhere.

In the sphere of spiritual life too there has been an acceleration in the growth of qualitative changes associated with the improved level of education, socialist upbringing, and civilization of people, the enrichment of their spiritual world, and the development of science and culture. Our society, upholding socialist class positions here too, brings the sphere of culture and spiritual consumption more and more fully out of its state of firm dependence on the social class structure and people's class affiliation.

The significance of other aspects of the improvement of the socialist society and our way of life is also inestimable. Soviet

society sees every person as an individual worthy of attention, is concerned to develop that individual increasingly fully and reveal his capabilities and talents, and is improving his living, working, and everyday conditions. And this is done regardless of the individual's social origin and social class status.

The leading, motive, and accelerating force in our movement toward a classless socialist society is the working class. It now constitutes the majority of the working people and exercises its vanguard role under the Communist Party's leadership. But this by no means diminishes the significance in this process of other social groups — the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. Characteristically, their sociopolitical activeness increases considerably as they draw closer to the working class. Its philosophy, ideology, collectivist mentality and morality, and vital interests are now shared by all groups and strata of the Soviet people. These are the indicators which define the orientation of those vital interests, goals, and fundamental values of the working people which will form the nucleus of the Soviet people's characteristics when it becomes a classless people.

In the course of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, the working class is transformed from a "class in intself" into a "class for itself," and as the transition to a classless structure takes place it becomes, so to speak, an open "class for all," elevating everyone to the elvel of its own philsophy, ideology, interests, and goals and promoting society's transformation into a unified, classiess collective of working people.

The social domination of the working class will evidently be the basis for the further development of such worthy qualities of the peasantry as love for the land, industriousness, and thrift. Those features of the intelligentsia which are valued highly among the people- -disinterestedness, selfless devotion, a creative approach to the cause — will also develop and will be enriched by the working class' labor traditions. A truly scientific philosophy and all that is best that the socialist system has developed in people will become the property of every member of society.

These processes and trends in the improvement of our society are inseparable from the growth in the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party and the strengthening and enhancement of the activeness of the socialist state.

As the classless structure of society is formed, so party policy, like state policy, comes increasingly to lose the functions of regulator of relations between classes and becomes a means of management of social processes taking place in the socialist collective of working people. But for a long time to come policy will retain its class orientation both by virtue of its being predetermined originally by the vital interests of the working class and by virtue of the class division of states which persists in the international arena.

The Communist Party's role in the formation of the classless structure of society is a special one. The founders of Marxdism-Leninism saw the Communists' historic mission as being "to ensure the victory of social revolution and the attainment of its final goal — the elimination of classes" (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol 17, p 427). Considerable successes have been achieved along this path. Today the Leninist party acts as the collective intelligence and militant, creative alliance of like-minded people marching at the head of the process of all-around, systematic improvement of socialism and communist creation. With its spirit of unity and collectivism, its energy and purposefulness, the democratism of intraparty life which penetrates all aspects of its activity, and its profound internationalism, the CPSU sets an example, illuminates and anticipates the real features of the future classless society. It serves as a kind of laboratory for forging this new quality of social life.

The formation of a classless society will provide the opportunity to reveal still more convincingly to all the world the indisputable advantages of socialism, and will be an important stage along the path to total social homogeneity.

## Historian Medvedev on Heirs of Stalin Victims

*PM171342 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 12-13 Jan 86 (AVANTI! DELLA DOMENICA supplement) pp 2,3*

[Interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev by Raffaello Uboldi — date and place not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Dissident Soviet historian Roy Medvedev is the author of fundamental works on Stalin and Stalinism — works published in the West but not in Moscow, where he lives in a kind of supervised freedom, speaking from time to time, with a few interviews to the Western press on current problems in his country and outside it. In this interview Medvedev talks to us once again about Stalin, adding new details to what we already know about this disturbing figure; but also about Trotskiy, who was Stalin's great enemy, about how he was killed and what happened to Raymond Mercader, his assassin. And to end he gives details about the survivors — about those people who were persecuted by Stalin and are still living in the Soviet Union.

[Uboldi] Stalin, the director of the USSR for 30 years, until 1953 when he died. Has everything been said about Stalin?

[Medvedev] No. After I wrote my book (*Stalinism — History, Origins, and Effects*, published by Mondadori, Milan) I received other material, which was all interesting. Part of this material, for instance, relates to the rehabilitation of the Russian Orthodox Church which happened in 1943 and not in 1941, when the war had only just broken out, in order to boost Russian patriotism, as some people think. In 1943 Stalin was winning the war, and it was clear that he would have to negotiate with the West on an overall order for the world in the future. But there were many doubts about him: Would victory not have meant the arrival of communism in Europe? So Stalin decided on camouflage tactics, a purely cosmetic change for the West's sake. He dissolved the Comintern, which, among other things, no longer had the role it had once had. And he also decided to reinstate the heads of the Orthodox Church who were all in exile, a long way from Moscow, in Central Asia or Siberia. He brought them back to Moscow and received the three most important metropolitans, including Sergiy, who was to become the patriach of the Orthodox Church. Stalin and Molotov were there and Molotov started the conversation: "Comrade Stalin wants to know what the Russian Orthodox Church needs." The three, who knew nothing about

Stalin's plans, were disconcerted and did not know what to say. But when Sergiy, who was an old fox, began to speak: "Comrade Stalin, we need to restore the churches, a newspaper, buildings to house schools, and ecclesiastical seminaries, to train the new priests we now lack." Stalin interrupted him: "Tell me, how is there a shortage of priests in Russia, in our country?" So, instead of talking about the persecution suffered by the church he decided to get round the obstacle: "There are many reasons why we lack priests. One is as follows: We train a priest in a seminary and a marshal of the USSR emerges from it." Stalin, who was educated at a seminary in Tbilisi and among other things had become Marshal of the USSR, smiled. And Sergiy won.

[Uboldi] Last year was the 45th anniversary of the death of Trotskiy, killed by Stalin's hired assassin; and obviously people talked and wrote about Trotskiy in the West. What is your view of him? Did he really represent an alternative to Stalin?

[Medvedev] I do not think so. Trotskiy too was a natural dictator, although it must be admitted that he had a dazzling personality and a better intellect, was more cultured, and had great personal charm. But he too had already created a cult of personality around himself or had resigned himself to it. He was what we in Russia call a "barin," an aristocrat. He behaved cruelly in the civil war, and Lenin forgave him because it was important to win. He was very arrogant and maintained it was necessary to hit out at enemies inside and outside the party. Trotskiy's program for the collectivization of land in the twenties was the same as the one Stalin implemented. From the intellectual viewpoint he was an infinitely more gifted person. However he was weak from the organizational viewpoint and it was not clear how he could have survived in a country like Russia because he thought it was possible to persuade people to work for decades just by making a fine speech. He underestimated the peasants. He held the orthodox Marxist view that the peasants cannot be a force which builds socialism. That left the theory of permanent revolution, which, however, was an intellectual construction which did not suit the conditions in the world at the time. On the whole he was a left-wing dogmatist. Until his death he underestimated bourgeois democracy and propounded extreme revolutionary ideas, in the end looking like a much more dangerous figure than Stalin.

[Uboldi] What happened to Raymond Mercader, his assassin, the man who killed him in Mexico in 1940 with an ax?

[Medvedev] After his prison term in Mexico he went to Czechoslovakia, and then returned to Moscow where he was given an apartment on Leninskiy Prospekt. He died relatively recently of cancer in Cuba, where he probably went out of nostalgia for Spanish, his mother tongue. He was old and did not talk to anybody. Some English Trotskiyists once tried to visit him to find out some details about Trotskiy's death, but he was afraid they wanted revenge; he was very frightened and refused to let them in.

[Uboldi] How could he have decided to kill Trotskiy?

[Medvedev] He had with him not only Stalin's order but also the verdict of the USSR Supreme Court which, after the big Moscow trials, condemned Trotskiy to death. So he thought he was playing a legitimate role. I do not want to make comparisons, but people in Israel thought that any Jew who abducted Eichmann would be carrying out a just action. Mercader was a blind tool. This was one reason why his fate was tragic. Without wishing to justify the murder, Mercader too was a victim of the Stalinist period.

[Uboldi] Is it possible that some of Trotskiy's family are still living in the USSR?

[Medvedev] It is possible but unlikely. Stalin hated Trotskiy so much that he eliminated all members of his family.

[Uboldi] Seva Volkov, the son of Nina, Trotskiy's daughter who committed suicide in Berlin, is living in the West. It has recently been suggested that Seva's sister could still be alive and living in Russia.

[Medvedev] That might be the case. It is also possible that Trotskiy's grandsons, born of his two sons Llova [as published] who died in Paris and Sergey who died in Siberia after being deported, might be alive. They were normal children. But in such cases the children were entrusted to a state home under another name. Forged documents were made for them, giving false parents and they themselves may not know that they are Trotskiy's grandsons.

[Uboldi] What is now known about Trotskiy in the USSR?

[Medvedev] Very little, and moreover it must be remembered that in the past you just had to mention Trotskiy's name to end up in prison. His books can no longer be found, even the copies in research institutes have been burned. Of the 16 volumes of his works published in the USSR before 1926 I have only chanced upon one.

[Uboldi] Are there other relatives of the historical leaders of Bolshevism still alive in the USSR?

[Medvedev] Of course. Bukharin's third wife is still alive, and so is his son. They too were sent to a camp for the relatives of enemies of the people, but she had the wisdom to have herself registered under her maiden name, Larina. That is why they survived.

[Uboldi] What would happen in the USSR today if somebody said: I am the son of grandson of Trotskiy, Bukharin, or Kamenev?

[Medvedev] Of the survivors, only Bukharin's last wife, who is called Anna Mikhaylovna Larina, and Bukharin's son, who is called Yuriy, have asked for their relative to be rehabilitated, but without success. The others are not doing anything, because there is a certain attitude in Soviet society which is linked with the past. In other words if you say you are the son or grandson of Zinovyev or of Kamenev, always supposing they are still alive, you will not be certain of receiving good treatment, and people will leave you and withdraw their friendship. It is a very interesting psychological framework. For instance Stalin's grandson receives a pension and will always be received with full honors in Georgia. He is able to turn to a Soviet body and claim this or that. However, if

Zinovyev's grandson goes to a Soviet body and say he has a poor apartment and asks for a better one, nobody will lift a finger for him, and they will even not give him any apartment. This is why these people try to stay in the background. rehabilitation has not been completed even in the case of the Communists. The tragedy continues.

[Uboldi] Are there not signs of change?

[Medvedev] Not yet. Shlyapnikov for instance was one of the most prominent Bolsheviks — he was minister of labor in the first Soviet Government and was a friend of Lenin. Later with Stalin, he joined the so-called "workers' opposition" was arrested, tried, and shot. But there was a detail which few people knew, and that was that in the first few years of the revolution Shlyapnikov and his wife had found a boy dying of starvation on the streets and had adopted him — a boy called Yezhov, the future head of Stalin's political police. So, when Shlyapnikov was arrested, his wife went to Yezhov at the Lubyanka and asked him to something for his adoptive father. Not only did Yezhov not do anything for Shlyapnikov but he had his wife — the women who was his adoptive mother — arrested too, and sent her to prison. Eventually Stalin died, the camps were opened, and Shlyapnikov's wife was able to return to the house where she was asked if she wanted to rejoin the party. She was entitled to because she was an old Communist. But she did not want to, unless her husband was rehabilitated too, but that was impossible because the "workers' opposition" has never been rehabilitated. Later she became seriously ill and was paralyzed. And if, as a former Communist, she had rejoined the party, she would have been entitled to admission to a special clinic with special treatment. They told her she just had to sign the membership application. But she insisted: First rehabilitate my husband, who was not guilty of any crime other than opposing Stalin. The moral of the story is that she died at home and Shlyapnikov was never rehabilitated, although he was an eminent figure in the history of the party, and a member of the Central Committee until 1921-1922. He is not alone. And this is one of the obstacles to somebody who wants to write the history of the party which ends up being the official history, without names or faces.

## PRAVDA Views 1985 Economic Performance

*PM281627 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 85*
*First Edition p 1*

[Editorial: "On the Line Between 5-Year Plans"]

[Text] The task set by the party of accelerating socioeconomic development demands profound shifts first and foremost in the decisive sphere of human activity — the economy. We are confronted with the task of effecting a sharp turn toward the intensification of production and reorienting every enterprise and every sector toward full, priority utilization of qualitative factors for economic growth.

Welcoming the party's plans with warm approval, Soviet people are discussing the draft precongress documents in a creative and interested fashion. Working people are revealing new reserves for production development and putting them to use in the national economy. We have many collectives where people work with initiative, making skillful use of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and leading experience. This is evidenced by the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition for successful fulfillment of the State Plan for the USSR's Economic and Social Development for 1985 and the 11th 5-Year Plan targets and for a worthy greeting to the 27th CPSU Congress.

The USSR Central Statistical Administration [CSA] report published yesterday on the results of the fulfillment of the State Plan in 1985 shows that positive changes are in evidence in many sectors' work. Social production developed in a progressive way, its scale increased, and quality indicators improved. National income utilized for consumption and accumulation totaled R567 billion. The total volume of industrial output increased by 3.9 percent in the year, as envisaged by the plan. Fixed capital valued at over R171 billion was commissioned, and approximately 200 new industrial enterprises entered service.

The working people in the agro-industrial complex are tenaciously fulfilling the Food Program. The influx of grain into state resources is sufficient to ensure full supplies of bread and grain products to the country's population. Production and procurements of livestock products increased. The growth of the population's real incomes accelerated. Soviet people received payments and allowances from social consumption funds totaling R146.5 billion, or R5.8 billion more than in 1984. Ten million people improved their housing conditions.

Utilization of material, financial, and labor resources improved. In industry as a whole and in most ministries, labor productivity growth exceeded average wage increases in 1985. The material-intensiveness of the social product was reduced, and this produced a saving in raw materials, supplies, fuel, energy, and other objects of labor to the tune of R3 billion.

At the same time every republic and every sector of the economy has a lot of unused potential. It is clear from the CSA report that the plan was not fulfilled for extraction and primary refining of oil or for production of finished rolled ferrous metal, mineral fertilizers, chemical equipment, commercial lumber, prefabricated ferroconcrete, and some consumer goods. A number of ministries' enterprises failed to meet contract commitments, failed to secure the planned labor productivity growth, and underutilized production potential. The construction workers have still to overcome the dissipation of capital investments. Party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs must intensify organizational and mass political work on implementing the party line of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. Fuller use must be made of the creative enthusiasm engendered by the coming CPSU congress to develop effective socialist competition, directed toward achieving high results, for successful fulfillment of the 1986 plan and adopted pledges and the ensuring of a confident start to the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The movement of leading collectives, teams, shops, sections, and enterprises which have resolved to secure the entire increase in production volume without increasing worker numbers, through fuller use of production capacities, deserves all possible support. We still need to be even more persistent in introducing the team contract and autonomous financing, in strengthening discipline, order, and organization, and in striving to ensure smooth working and fulfillment of deliveries in accordance with contracts and orders.

The calendar shows 1986. We now stand at a very crucial point, at which the foundation of the next 5-year plan is being laid. The kind of foundation it proves to be will greatly affect the success of all the following years, of all the annual plans. The particular feature of this year's plan is its orientation first and foremost on intensive methods of economic activity — as life itself dictates. We have no labor or material resources to spare, and extensive economic growth factors are exhausted. That means that every labor collective and every party organization must strive persistently to accelerate scientific-technical progress and ensure economical and careful expenditure of all resources.

From January 1986 more than one-half of all output is being produced at enterprises operating under the new economic conditions. The large-scale experiment is under way at a new level. It must, of course, be continued with the main point constantly in mind: The expansion of the rights and economic independence of associations and enterprises means, as the draft new edition of the CPSU Program observes, that the center of gravity in all economic operations must now be directly in the labor collectives.

The reorientation of the system of economic management is a complex, prolonged, and sometimes painful process. While stepping up the search for more effective economic levers and for an efficient economic mechanism to combat waste, experts, economic leaders, and party committees must at the same time not slacken attention to the social motive forces of production and to the need to keep scrupulous account of everything at our disposal. Struggle against exaggerated reporting, exeption, and extravagance with what belongs to the whole people, however they may be concealed and wherever they may occur, must be stepped up.

It is less than a month until the 27th CPSU Congress opens. Let every day be marked by real shock work. It is a matter of honor for all collectives to work even more productively and economically, at a high standard of quality, and to cope successfully with the pledges adopted in honor of the congress of Lenin's party.

## Uzbek Official Reports Economic Failures

*GF291048 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 29 Jan 86*

[Text] The press in Uzbekistan published a report by the republic's Central Statistics Administration today on the Uzbek SSR's economic development in 1985 and the republic's social and economic progress during the entire 11th 5-Year Plan. In view of this, we have invited Mirazkir (Khodzhikis), director of the Uzbek SSR Central Statistics Administration, to our studio.

[Begin recording] [Khodzhikis] Like all the other Soviet peoples, our republic's workers also endeavored to realize their economic plans for 1985 intending to worthily welcome the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress and the 21st Uzbek Communist Party Congress. The results achieved last year confirm that the productivity and outcome of social work continues to grow.

National income in 1985, that is to say the volume of the funds that contribute toward the welfare of our people, increased by 3.9 percent. The real income of workers, office employees, and kolkhoz workers increased as well.

Fruitful work has been carried out in the industrial field in applying scientific and technical discoveries in production. The production of 76 new kinds of machinery, equipment, and instruments began last year and the volume of the production of consumer goods increased by 2.4 percent. Agricultural workers supplied the state with about 5.4 million metric tons of cotton in 1985. Meanwhile, basic allocations totalling R4.5 billion from state capital funds were used last year.

However, many production unions and factories have failed to realize plans concerning the procuring and selling of products. Work output in a number of factories has been unsatisfactory and the products manufactured lack in quality. New factories that have been put into operation have failed to fully use the work forces.

Due to the delaying of agro-technical work by the leaders of a number of establishments, and due to lack of quality in the work carried out in that regard, plans concerning the supply of meat, milk, (?eggs), cotton, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, grapes, and melon products to the state have remained unfulfilled. Compared with 1984, the (?production of many products has been less).

The ministries concerned with construction and assembly work failed to realize plans related to contract work in 1985. As a result, plans to utilize allocations and state funds were not realized last year.

Many trade organizations, livelihood services factories, and collectives in the vehicle transportation domain failed to cope with their plans in 1985. [end recording]

## Correction to CSA Figures on Industrial Sales, Growth

The following statistical table was originally published in the 27 January Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* National Affairs Supplement on Pages S 4 and S 5. It is being republished to provide proper alignment of columns.

| | Percentage Fulfillment of 12-Month Output | 1985 as Percentage of 1984 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Sales Plan | Production Volume | Labor Productivity |
| RSFSR | | 100.4 | 103.6 | 103.5 |
| Ukrainian SSR | | 100.1 | 103.2 | 103.0 |
| Belorussian SSR | | 102 | 106.2 | 105.2 |
| Uzbek SSR | | 99.7 | 107.3 | 104.5 |
| Kazakh SSR | | 100.1 | 104.5 | 103.1 |
| Georgian SSR | | 99.5 | 107.0 | 105.4 |
| Azerbaijan SSR | | 100.5 | 105.6 | 104.1 |
| Lithuanian SSR | | 102 | 104.0 | 103.4 |
| Moldavian SSR | | 100.5 | 100.7 | 99.3 |
| Latvian SSR | | 102 | 103.3 | 103.6 |
| Kirghiz SSR | | 101 | 103.7 | 102.9 |
| Tajik SSR | | 101 | 104.3 | 101.6 |
| Armenian SSR | | 100.9 | 106.6 | 104.0 |
| Turkmen SSR | | 100.7 | 102.0 | 100.7 |
| Estonian SSR | | 102 | 102.3 | 102.8 |